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Translated Texts for Historians
Volume 14

The Breviarium ab Urbe Condita of Eutropius

**The Right Honourable Secretary of State
for General Petitions**

Dedicated to Lord Valens

Gothicus Maximus & Perpetual Emperor

Translated with an introduction and commentary by
H. W. BIRD

Liverpool
University
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PREFACE

This book is primarily intended for students of the late empire who have little Latin and less Greek and no reading knowledge of German or Italian. Accordingly I have elected to use the Loeb editions of Livy and Dio and restrict the secondary material in general to books and articles in English. Nevertheless, in order to accommodate scholars and simultaneously to introduce students to the whole panorama of Roman history, as Eutropius intended, I have added reasonably detailed notes to the introduction and a fairly comprehensive commentary to the translation.

Eutropius' *Breviarium* was used for fifteen hundred years as a basic survey of over eleven centuries of Roman history. In spite of its omissions and errors it served its purpose well. I have attempted to fill in the omissions and correct the errors as much as possible, and to give an impression of the author and the times in which he wrote.

It will quickly become apparent to readers that Eutropius did no research but rather followed two or three circumscribed sources, the main ones being an Epitome of Livy and a lost series of imperial biographies nowadays called Enmann's *Kaisergeschichte*. Most but not all of Eutropius' omissions and errors are attributable to them. Those which I have committed are my own.

Finally, I should like to thank Gillian Clark and Ian Wood for their careful perusal of the text and for their helpful suggestions.

H.W. Bird
Windsor, Ontario
1992

INTRODUCTION

Eutropius: His Life and Career

It appears that Eutropius was born soon after A.D. 320 for he was considered a contemporary of the Emperor Valens (b. 328?) and Julian (b.331)¹ and must have been at least in his mid-to-late thirties when he was Secretary of State for Correspondence (*magister epistularum*) under Constantius prior to 361² and somewhat older in 369 when he served in the senior post of Secretary of State for General Petitions (*magister memoriae*) under Valens.³ He may have been born in Italy⁴ but it is also possible that he was born in the province of Asia, for his name is Greek, he owned estates in Asia⁵ and he spent most of his career in the East. At any rate it is highly unlikely that he was a medical man from Bordeaux, as some scholars affirm.⁶

At the time of Eutropius' birth Constantine the Great was engaged in his final struggle with his brother-in-law, the Eastern Emperor Licinius. In 324 Constantine defeated, deposed and subsequently executed Licinius, so that for the first time in nearly forty years the Roman Empire was ruled by one man. Constantine almost immediately rejected paganism,

¹Nicephorus Gregoras, *Or. in Constant. Magn.* (in Lambecius, comm. de bibl. Vindob. VIII. 136 ff.).

²*Scr. Orig. Cpl.* II. 144. The author mistakenly identifies him as the *epistolographos* of Constantine, but this is clearly improbable since Constantine I died in 337, his son, Constantine II, in 340.

³*Eutrop. Brev. dedicatio.* This and Eutropius' statement (*Brev.*10.16) that he accompanied Julian on his Persian campaign in 363 are the only pieces of totally incontestable evidence for Eutropius' life and career. In general *vid.* H.W. Bird, "Eutropius: His Life and Career," *EMC/CV XXXII*, n.s. 7, 1988, 51-60. For a somewhat different reconstruction *vid.* G. Bonamente, *Giuliano l'Apostata e il Breviario di Eutropio* (Rome, 1986), 19-45.

⁴*Suda*, s.v. Eutropius, where he is called an Italian sophist.

⁵*Symm. Ep.* III. 53.

⁶For details *vid.* Bird, *op. cit.*, 51.

began openly to favour Christianity and commenced construction of his eastern capital, Constantinople. At his instigation the Council of Nicaea met in 325, with far-reaching consequences, and on May 11, 330, Constantinople was formally dedicated. This, then, was the world of transformation in which Eutropius spent his boyhood.

His family was presumably quite wealthy but probably not of senatorial rank, for although Eutropius had clearly received a sound education to enable him to gain entry into the imperial secretariat, these offices were not regarded as fashionable by the senatorial nobility and generally attracted *curiales*, men of the middle classes.⁷ Furthermore, it is virtually certain that Eutropius was fluent in Greek in view of his prominent career in the Eastern bureaucracy. Other indications occur in the *Breviarium*, e.g. he notes that Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius and Julian were very learned in Greek,⁸ describes how Lucius Verus was "struck with a rush of blood which the Greeks call *apoplexis*" and informs us that Constantine's death was foretold by a "*crinita stella* which the Greeks call a comet."⁹ It also seems likely that Eutropius studied law for his posts entailed much legal work, he shows a distinct fondness for Numa Pompilius, Rome's first lawgiver,¹⁰ and he was able to give a concise but shrewd critique of the laws enacted by Constantine.¹¹ In addition he notes with approbation that Diocletian made many judicious arrangements and regulations still in effect in 369 and that Ulpian was the compiler of the law.¹²

Although Eutropius may have received his early education elsewhere, part of it probably took place at Rome where students from all parts of the empire gathered. In 370 Valentinian enacted a law which placed the

⁷A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, vol. II (Oxford, 1964), 577-578, henceforth cited as *L.R.E.*

⁸Eutrop. 8.7; 8.12; 10.16.

⁹Eutrop. 8.10; 10.8.

¹⁰H.W. Bird, "Eutropius on Numa Pompilius and the Senate," *C.J.* 81 (1986), 243-244.

¹¹Eutrop. 10.8.

¹²Eutrop. 9.3; 8.23.

urban prefect in charge of students at Rome.¹³ The prefect was responsible for maintaining order among the international students, for ensuring that they did not evade their commitments in their home towns, and for furnishing the emperor with a list of the best students so that he might provide them with suitable employment in the imperial administration.¹⁴ A similar system almost certainly existed under Constans and Constantius II when Eutropius was completing his education and it seems reasonable to assume that he was among those bright young students at Rome who gained entry into the imperial secretariats soon after 340. Fluency in Greek would have been a helpful qualification and ensured a posting in the East.

Eutropius probably began his career as a clerk (*epistularis*) under Constantius in the eastern section of the secretariat of the Secretary of State for Correspondence (*magister epistularum*). The whole secretariat, under Leo I (456-474), employed thirty-four such clerks.¹⁵ Promotion was by seniority, each clerk rising step-by-step until he became *melloproximus* and finally *proximus*, the senior member of the secretariat. Progress must have been slow initially since *proximi* served three years. On the other hand deaths, early retirements, the need to purchase positions and the fluctuating political scene between 340 and 355 may have accelerated Eutropius' rise, so that it is reasonable to accept that he had become Constantius' Secretary of State for Correspondence before 361. Among his various functions he would have handled judicial petitions and responses, replied to delegations of provincial assemblies and cities, checked the judicial records of provincial governors, received various petitions and read out in the Imperial Council the requests of provincial and diocesan delegations. He would also have dealt with military and grain supply reports and issued enlistment certificates to officials of the praetorian and urban prefects, and of provincial and regional governors (proconsuls and vicars). Through his office, therefore, he must have become acquainted with Constantius II and his senior

¹³*Cod. Theod.* XIV. 9.1.

¹⁴H.I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, trans. G. Lamb (London, 1956), 310-311.

¹⁵Jones, *loc. cit.*

officers, for his curt description of the emperor's defeats by the Persians, especially the one near Singara in 348, gives the impression that it derived from the account of eyewitnesses.

When Constantius died at Mopsucrenae, near the Cilician border with Cappadocia, on November 3, 361, Eutropius was presumably still in office. His statement that Constantius "enriched his friends and allowed no one whose active service he had experienced to go unrewarded"¹⁶ could well be a personal note of gratitude. Ammianus Marcellinus also maintains that under Constantius "no one who was to hold a high position was appointed to a post at court suddenly or untried, but a man who after ten years was to be the Minister of the Imperial Secretariats or Minister of Finance, or appointed to any similar position, was thoroughly known."¹⁷

Julian, now sole emperor, reached Constantinople on December 11, 361 and soon afterwards established an investigatory committee under his new praetorian prefect, Salutius Secundus. The committee met at Chalcedon in the presence of the commanders and officers of the elite regiments of *Joviani* and *Herculiani* and ultimately banished six high government officials or former officials and had five others executed.¹⁸ Presumably Eutropius was also investigated, but he was clearly exonerated of any wrong-doing or antipathy towards Julian, for he informs us that he accompanied Julian on the Persian campaign in 363 and he may well have retained his position as Secretary of State for Correspondence.¹⁹ Whenever any emperor died his administrators went on with their business unless replaced. The new emperor would invariably have to keep the government functioning, reward his friends and supporters, and try to conciliate those who could be won over, in addition to retaining the support of the army. Julian did, indeed, make numerous attempts to improve the bureaucracy, cutting out many notaries and *agentes*. His appointments were made on the grounds of proven

¹⁶Eutrop. 10.15.

¹⁷Ammianus, 21.16.3.

¹⁸Ammianus, 22.2.4 ff.

¹⁹Eutrop. 10.16.

competence and his senior officials were generally professional administrators and intellectuals from whom Julian demanded honesty and hard work. As Browning put it: "None pursued this policy as systematically as Julian."²⁰

Eutropius, therefore, would presumably have been among the military and court officials who met after Julian's death in June, 363 to choose his successor. He would have belonged to the civilian group under Arintheus and Victor who vied with the military faction of Nevitta and Dagalaifus in selecting a new emperor.²¹ In view of his subsequent career, however, it seems hardly likely that he did or said anything to offend either party. Nevertheless Eutropius may not have been with Jovian when that emperor died suddenly at Dadastana on the Bithynian-Galatian border on February 17, 364. Three differing accounts of the emperor's death are given, yet the author comes to no personal conclusions (10.18). Eutropius probably remained at Antioch in early 364 to deal with administrative matters there when Jovian decided to hurry back to Constantinople.

At the end of February, 364 Valentinian, also a Pannonian officer like Jovian, and recently promoted by the latter to be commander of one of the regiments of the Imperial Guard, was unanimously elected emperor by the chief civil and military leaders. In view of the argument above, it would appear that Eutropius did not take part in the election, but he does observe that Jovian "was deified through the kindness of the emperors who succeeded him, for he was inclined to equity and liberal by nature."²² These positive remarks about Jovian and the implicit praise of Valentinian and Valens, in addition to the statement by Ammianus that Jovian made few promotions and was rather selective,²³ probably indicate that Eutropius had continued to serve as a senior official in the administration of Jovian and had been kept on by Valens.

Valentinian had little liking for the men of letters favoured by Julian

²⁰R. Browning, *The Emperor Julian* (Berkeley, 1976), 128.

²¹Ammianus, 25.5.1 ff.

²²Eutrop. 10.18.

²³Ammianus, 25.10.15.

or for Roman aristocrats.²⁴ Two successive Ministers of the Imperial Secretariats (*magistri officiorum*) under Valentinian, Remigius and Leo, both of humble origins, began their careers as financial clerks in the office of one of the army Commanders-in-Chief (*magistri militum*). Valens, the Eastern Emperor, had less to do with the Roman aristocracy, and seems to have enjoyed a better reputation than his brother.²⁵ He was loyal to his friends, rarely changed his officials and was strict in maintaining discipline in the army and in civil life.²⁶ Eutropius' dedication of his work to Valens is itself a sign of the author's gratitude and loyalty to the emperor. He presumably expected favourable treatment from the emperor in return. In addition, Eutropius refers several times throughout the *Breviarium* to those notable Roman generals or emperors who restored or maintained military discipline.²⁷ This, too, would have flattered Valens. Finally, the statements of both Ammianus and the Epitomator, that Valens was slow to replace his officials, also indicate that Eutropius was probably kept on by Valens. If so, where did Eutropius meet Valens? It has been suggested that in 364 Eutropius was at Antioch, the imperial residence from 362 when Julian was mounting his Persian expedition. Valentinian and Valens parted company at Sirmium in August, 364 and Valens spent the winter at Constantinople. At the end of winter, possibly in March 365, Valens hastened to Antioch, and it was probably here that he made the acquaintance of Eutropius. In the meantime Procopius had seized the opportunity offered by Valens' departure from Constantinople to make a play for the throne.²⁸ He won over Constantinople, Thrace, Nicaea Chalcedon and Bithynia, but by mid-winter of that year he had been deserted by his followers and executed by

²⁴Jones, *L.R.E.* vol. I, 141-142; E.A. Thompson, *The Historical Work of Ammianus Marcellinus* (Cambridge, 1947), 102 ff; A. Alföldi, *A Conflict of Ideas in the Late Roman Empire*, trans. H. Mattingly (Oxford, 1952), *passim*.

²⁵Jones, *L.R.E.* vol. I, 147, citing Ammianus and Themistius. The Epitomator (*Epit.* 46.3) agrees.

²⁶Ammianus, 31.14.2 ff.; *Epit.* 46.3.

²⁷Eutrop. 4.19; 4.27; 8.7; 8.23; 9.14.

²⁸Ammianus, 26.6.10 ff.

Valens.²⁹ Many of his followers or suspected followers were put to death, exiled or demoted.³⁰ Clearly Eutropius was not among them, so he could hardly have been at Constantinople or in any of those areas controlled by Procopius. He had been fortunate.

In the period 367-369 Valens was fighting in the region of the lower Danube against the Goths who had sent aid to Procopius.³¹ It appears that Eutropius had accompanied the emperor, for he demonstrates items of precise information about the region. He knew the names of the tribes living there in 369 (the Thaiphali, Victohali and Thervingi), as well as the fact that the old province of Dacia was a thousand miles in circumference (8.2). In addition, he seems to have seen the exact place where Aurelian was assassinated, on the "old paved road between Constantinople and Heraclea, in a place which is called Caenophrurium" (9.15). Thus it was during these years (367-369) that Eutropius was promoted to the position of Secretary of State for General Petitions (*magister memoriae*) in the East, since he held this position in 369 when he dedicated his work to the emperor. Indeed, it is quite possible that the writing of the *Breviarium* was Eutropius' way of expressing his gratitude to Valens for his promotion to the largest and most important of the three Secretariats.³² Valens clearly held Eutropius in high esteem even prior to the composition of the *Breviarium*. It seems likely that Eutropius presented his work to Valens when the latter celebrated his Triumph over the Goths and assumed the title *Gothicus Maximus* in late 369 (probably in December) at Constantinople. The careful wording of the dedication (i.e., "that your Serenity's divine mind may rejoice to learn that it has followed the actions of illustrious men in governing the empire") and some of the contents of the work will have given the emperor further cause to favour its author. There are also hints throughout the Imperial section of the work that Eutropius regarded the emperors' loyalty and generosity

²⁹Ammianus, 26.9.1 ff.

³⁰Ammianus, 26.10.1 ff.

³¹Ammianus, 27.5.1 ff.

³²For their relative size, functions and importance see Jones, *L.R.E.*, vol. II, 576.

towards their friends as very significant imperial virtues.³³ As a corollary to this he emphatically criticizes Maximian and Constantine for their cruelty and faithlessness towards their friends and, in the case of Constantine, even towards his relatives.³⁴ Eutropius' own loyalty and competence had paid off. He had faithfully served four emperors and could look forward to further service and even further promotion.

This apparently occurred soon afterwards, in 371, when Ammianus informs us that a Eutropius was proconsul of Asia.³⁵ It would be reasonable to assume that Valens' loyal administrator (and eulogizer in the *Breviarium*) had been suitably rewarded with a senior Eastern position for which he was clearly well-equipped.³⁶ Asia, like Africa, was a special province, standing outside the official hierarchy inasmuch as it was not under the disposition of the Vicar of Asiana or of the praetorian prefect.³⁷ This gave Eutropius direct access to the emperor, yet another privilege for the author. While governing his province, he received a constitution on the restoration to the cities of Asia of part of their civic lands and he restored buildings at Magnesia on the Maeander.³⁸ Unfortunately his proconsulship was not to have a happy ending. Caught up in a vast web of deceit when a plot against Valens was discovered, Eutropius was summoned to Antioch on the charge of complicity. Although the philosopher Pasiphilus was cruelly tortured to force him falsely to implicate Eutropius, he bravely refused to do so, and Eutropius

³³Eutrop. 7.8; 7.13; 7.19; 7.21; 8.4; 8.5; 8.8; 8.12; 9.7; 10.7; 10.15; 10.16.

³⁴Eutrop. 10.5; 10.6.

³⁵Ammianus, 29.1.36; Lib. Or. 1.159; Greg. Naz. Ep. 71.

³⁶Despite the judicious scepticism of W. den Boer (*Some Minor Roman Historians*, Leiden, 1972, 114-115) I find it most unlikely that Valens would have chosen an otherwise unknown Eutropius for this very prestigious position at this particular juncture so soon after the appearance of the *Breviarium* which was dedicated to him.

³⁷Jones, *L.R.E.*, vol. I, 275.

³⁸Bruns, *Fontes*, 97, *Hell.* IV. 63.

escaped the mass of executions of both innocent and guilty alike.³⁹ His career, however, suffered as a result. He was replaced as proconsul of Asia by Festinus of Tridentum, who may probably be identified with Festus, the author of yet another and even shorter *Breviarium* dedicated to Valens in ca. 370. Festus had also succeeded Eutropius as Secretary of State for General Petitions.⁴⁰

In 375 the emperor Valentinian I died of apoplexy and his position in the West was taken by his elder son, Gratian. The latter drove the Alamans out of Gaul and re-established the Rhine frontier. Meanwhile, the Huns had forced the Goths from their homes north of the Danube. Some of the Thervingian Goths were transported into Thrace by Valens in 376, while another group of Greuthungian Goths crossed the Danube by themselves. Thrace became a battleground and the Romans suffered considerable losses, which caused Valens to leave Antioch for Thrace and Gratian to march to his assistance. Before the latter could arrive, however, Valens attacked a force of Goths outside Adrianople on August 9, 378. It was a disaster: the Roman army was cut to pieces and Valens perished, his body vanishing in the mêlée. Still, the Goths failed to capture Adrianople and, though joined by bands of Huns and Alans, were equally unsuccessful when they attacked Constantinople. Gratian swiftly chose as co-ruler Theodosius, who was proclaimed Augustus in January, 379 at Sirmium. Four years of fighting and negotiating ensued, but finally a peace treaty was struck with the Goths in October, 382. They were settled in vacant lands south of the Danube, retaining their own ruler and laws but bound to Rome by an alliance. In return for annual food subsidies they provided the empire with soldiers.

It appears that sometime after 372 Eutropius travelled to Rome and here he made the acquaintance of Q. Aurelius Symmachus, a distinguished aristocrat and one of the most notable orators and writers of the period, who held the prefecture of Rome in 384 and the consulship

³⁹Ammianus, 29.1.1 ff. esp. 29.2.36; Lib. *Or.* 1.159.

⁴⁰Ammianus, 29.2.22; Eunapius 7.6.6-13; R. Syme, *Ammianus Marcellinus and the Historia Augusta* (Oxford, 1968), 105; *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 1971), 317, 334-335, henceforth *P.L.R.E.*; cf. den Boer, *op. cit.*, 178, 181; J.W. Eadie, *The Breviarium of Festus, A Critical Edition with Historical Commentary* (London, 1967) 1 ff.

in 391.⁴¹ Again the evidence depends entirely on the coincidence of names, but the historian possessed those necessary qualifications which would permit access to Symmachus' circle. He was a writer whose work was becoming well-known since it was soon to be used by Ammianus, Jerome and Orosius and translated into Greek by Pacianus. Furthermore, he had held senior positions in the civil administration (obtaining thereby the *clarissimate*), and must have retained powerful and influential friends. Finally, he was a pagan, which would have endeared him to Symmachus (who was the most prominent champion of paganism at that time), and, as his work demonstrates throughout, a convinced supporter of the senatorial cause.

Gratian's court, packed with the friends and relatives of the professor and poet Ausonius, was more kindly disposed towards the aristocracy and those of a literary background. Eutropius evidently benefitted from the new dispensation and found himself in favour with Theodosius. In 379 Symmachus wrote to Eutropius to enlist his support for a friend, Postumianus.⁴² Symmachus would hardly have made such a request if Eutropius had not possessed influence. Postumianus profited from his friend's assistance. He held offices in the Eastern administration before obtaining the Eastern prefecture in 383.⁴³ Theodosius followed the precedent of Valens and other eastern emperors in employing as praetorian prefects those who had proved their efficiency in lower offices.⁴⁴ Eutropius was also to benefit further from the death of Valens in 378. In early January 380, a year after Theodosius had been installed as Augustus of the East, the historian was appointed prefect of Illyricum. Eutropius presumably spent the two years of his tenure at Thessalonica and Constantinople while Theodosius fought and negotiated with the

⁴¹Symm. *Ep.* III. 46-51; Greg. Naz. *Ep.* 70-71. For Symmachus see *P.L.R.E.*, 865-870.

⁴²Symm. *Ep.* III. 48.

⁴³Matthews, "Continuity in a Roman Family," *Historia* 16, (1967), 494-495.

⁴⁴A.H.M. Jones, "Collegiate Prefectures," *J.R.S.* 54 (1964) 79; *L.R.E.*, vol. I, 161. Presumably Theodosius appointed him, though perhaps on the recommendation of Gratian. Eutropius' continued appointments in the East, particularly this one, lead me to conclude that he was not an Aquitanian: cf. Matthews, *loc. cit.* in n.43.

Goths to the north.⁴⁵ During his tenure of office he possibly influenced the enactment of a substantial number of laws, some of which lessened the severe punishment for various crimes.⁴⁶ This conforms with what we know of Eutropius' disposition from his work, for there are numerous indications throughout the *Breviarium* which plainly demonstrate how distasteful Eutropius found cruelty and excessive severity and how much he appreciated justice and moderation.⁴⁷ By way of example Maximian's cruelty is sharply castigated on two occasions,⁴⁸ and Constantine is criticized for enacting many superfluous laws, some of which were severe.⁴⁹

After concluding his prefecture in late 381 Eutropius probably stayed on in Constantinople, and certainly continued to enjoy the approval and esteem of the emperor Theodosius and other notables. Symmachus wrote to him in 387 and Libanius in 390.⁵⁰ Indeed, the crowning achievement of his career came in 387 when he was elected Eastern consul, with the emperor Valentinian II as his Western counterpart.⁵¹ This was a signal distinction, for the ordinary consulship was still "the one ancient Republican office which retained its glamour untarnished."⁵²

Eutropius' outstanding career, spanning the reigns of the emperors

⁴⁵Jones, *L.R.E.*, vol. I, 156.

⁴⁶*P.L.R.E.*, 317. His influence with Theodosius is demonstrated by the posts to which the emperor appointed him.

⁴⁷E.g., Eutrop. 1.3; 1.13; 4.17; 4.27; 7.12; 7.13; 7.16; 7.19; 7.20; 7.21; 8.1; 8.4-5; 8.8; 8.14; 9.14; 9.17; 9.23; 9.27; 10.3; 10.6.

⁴⁸Eutrop. 9.27; 10.3.

⁴⁹Eutrop. 10.8.

⁵⁰Symm. *Ep.* III. 52-53; Lib. *Ep.* 979.

⁵¹For the evidence see *P.L.R.E.*, 317.

⁵²Jones, *L.R.E.*, vol. II, 531-532. S. Dill (*Roman Society in the Last Century of the Roman Empire* [London 1899], 145) describes the consulship of the fourth century A.D. as "one of those dignified fictions by which the Romans distinguished the vastness which separated them from the days of freedom."

Constantius II to Theodosius, is a clear indication that he was both extremely competent and loyal, and also probably a shrewd survivor. He must have earned the respect not only of a succession of emperors of diverse character and interests, but also of military leaders, senior civilian officials and leading senatorials, a remarkably difficult task given the nature of the times. Moreover, his successful career, together with that of his close contemporary, Sextus Aurelius Victor, demonstrates that the bureaucracy of the second half of the fourth century contained men of integrity and moderation despite the well-founded strictures of Ammianus. How much the publication of the *Breviarium* assisted him we cannot say, but it is highly likely that Valens, Gratian, Theodosius, Libanius, Symmachus and others were suitably impressed. Modern critics, such as Sir Ronald Syme, may indeed scorn the work as "a poor and scrappy production."⁵³ Nevertheless, it certainly helped to promote the career of a decent and efficient administrator who apparently lived up to the meaning of his name: he was both versatile and of a gentle disposition.

The Situation in A.D. 369 and the Aims of the Breviarium

By A.D. 369 the eastern emperor Valens had been campaigning against the Goths in the region of the lower Danube for three years. After somewhat sporadic fighting he was finally successful in cutting their food supplies and reducing them to such straits that they were compelled to send several deputations to him to beg for pardon and peace. A treaty was agreed upon and, probably towards the end of that year, Valens was able to return to Constantinople where with some justification he celebrated a triumph.⁵⁴

Nevertheless, in the meantime the situation in the east had deteriorated disastrously. Jovian had bought peace from the Persians in 363 by conceding the great fortresses of Nisibis, Singara and Castra Maurorum in Mesopotamia and the five provinces and fifteen fortresses beyond the Tigris. Apparently even that had failed to satisfy Sapor, the

⁵³Syme, *loc. cit.* in note 40. On the other hand T.R. Glover (*Life and Letters in the Fourth Century*, London, 1901, 108-109) calls Eutropius "a writer of learning and intelligence."

⁵⁴Ammianus, 27.5.7-10. J. Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (London, 1989) provides an abundance of information on the period and the sources.

Persian King. While Valens was occupied with the Goths, the King broke the agreement and invaded Armenia. He captured its King, Arsaces, by treachery, blinded and executed him, placed a puppet on the throne and replaced Sauromaces of Iberia, the Roman nominee, with his own, Aspacures. The Romans responded by sending Arsaces' son Papa back to Armenia and subsequently despatched an army there under Count Arintheus. In addition, they sent another army under Terentius to replace Sauromaces on the throne of Iberia. Valens, however, who was still embroiled on the Danube, tried to smooth over difficulties with Sapor by compromising. At the suggestion of Aspacures he divided Iberia into two parts, with Sauromaces holding the western region, Aspacures the eastern. Sapor, angry that he had not been consulted and that the Romans had aided the Armenians contrary to the terms of Jovian's peace treaty, refused to accept the situation and prepared for war.⁵⁵

This was the situation in the Eastern Empire when the Emperor Valens called upon Eutropius to write his abbreviated history of Rome. Both of the current emperors and their military commanders were mainly uneducated provincials from the Danube region or Germans, with little knowledge of Roman history. They had to mix with the established members of the senatorial aristocracy who expected a sound knowledge of Roman history and institutions. The establishment of a new senate at Constantinople added to this problem.⁵⁶ The major purpose of Eutropius' *Breviarium*, therefore, was to provide a simple, succinct and readable account of Roman history for such people. We can gauge the extent of their ignorance from the fact that Valens commissioned Festus, Eutropius' successor as Secretary of State for General Petitions, to write an even shorter summary of Roman history almost immediately after the publication of Eutropius' work. Apparently the latter had proven too long.⁵⁷

This, however, was not the only purpose of the *Breviarium*. Certain

⁵⁵For the shameful peace treaty *vid.* Ammianus, 25.7.13; 25.9.3; for the subsequent events *vid.* Ammianus, 27.12.1-18.

⁵⁶A. Momigliano, The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century (Oxford, 1963), 85-86.

⁵⁷*Ibid.* Eutropius' account is seventy-seven pages long (Teubner edition), that of Festus twenty pages.

passages, particularly in the later chapters of the work, give the distinct impression that Eutropius had been asked by Valens to write his history in such a way that it might persuade both civil and military officials alike that an aggressive foreign policy against the Persians could and should be undertaken in order to recover the provinces and fortresses surrendered by Jovian. Indeed, as den Boer has already pointed out, "the one thread which runs throughout the book...is the dignity of war. War was always better than peace without honour."⁵⁸

The imperial theme commences with the first sentences of the work and continues throughout Eutropius' description of Rome's progress from an insignificant settlement of pastoral bandits to a world empire. He gives far more prominence to campaigns and conquests than he does to civil matters, and generally praises the army for its successes as one might expect of a work designed to a great extent for military readers.

His first telling comment, however, comes as he describes the Battle of Pharsalus in 48 B.C., when he states that the Romans had never before gathered a greater number of troops together under such outstanding generals, forces which would easily have subdued the whole world if only they had been led against barbarians.⁵⁹ The topic is picked up again in the last book⁶⁰ when the Battle of Mursa in 351 is discussed. In that struggle vast forces of the Roman Empire were destroyed, forces which would have been:

"sufficient for any foreign wars and for procuring
many triumphs and lasting peace."

In the imperial period Augustus is highly praised for his success in wars and Eutropius observes that at no period was the Roman state more flourishing than under him. The author then gives a long list of his additions to the empire and includes the following statement:

"He recovered Armenia from the Parthians: the
Persians gave him hostages, which they had given to
no one before, and they restored the Roman standards
which they had taken from Crassus when they had

⁵⁸W. den Boer, *op. cit.*, 164.

⁵⁹Eutrop. 6.21.

⁶⁰Eutrop. 10.12.

defeated him."⁶¹

Subsequent emperors are judged to a great extent by their military accomplishments and naturally Trajan was to be preferred to all others. At the beginning of Book Eight Eutropius shrewdly observes that in the consulship of Vetus and Valens the empire was restored to its most prosperous state by being entrusted to good emperors. Eutropius then diligently lists all of Trajan's conquests and alliances, in particular those in the east which are treated to twice as much coverage as those in the north, despite the fact that the Dacian conquests were more enduring and far more profitable.⁶² By implicitly comparing Valens with Trajan Eutropius appears to be urging Valens to emulate his predecessor, that best of emperors, and regain those Roman possessions in the East which Trajan had once conquered and which Jovian had surrendered. Unfortunately, according to Eutropius, Hadrian envied Trajan's reputation and immediately gave up three of the provinces which Trajan had added to the empire, Assyria, Armenia and Mesopotamia. He was dissuaded from acting similarly with regard to Dacia by his advisors.⁶³ The report that Hadrian considered surrendering Dacia and was envious of all who excelled in anything is in Dio.⁶⁴ In their respective biographies of Hadrian this was considered plausible by Perowne but Henderson remained sceptical.⁶⁵ It is feasible, however, that Hadrian, in his general review of the empire soon after his accession, considered all of his options, including the possible withdrawal from Dacia, and prudently decided to retain the new and lucrative province and thereby protect the recent settlers and the interests of the state. Eutropius' account of Hadrian's reign was probably followed by Festus, who also noted Hadrian's envy of Trajan but omitted to report Hadrian's contemplated

⁶¹Eutrop. 7.9.

⁶²Eutrop. 8.2-3.

⁶³Eutrop. 8.6; cf. *H.A. Hadr.* 5.3; 9.1.

⁶⁴Dio, 68.13; 29.3.2 ff. Cf. Florus 1.33.7, "It is more important to retain a province than to create it."

⁶⁵S. Perowne, *Hadrian* (London, 1960), 48; B.W. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian* (London, 1923), 57, 145-6.

withdrawal from Dacia.⁶⁶ But then Eutropius, like Ammianus, had probably witnessed in person the forced evacuation of Nisibis and other Roman cities in the provinces ceded to the Parthians⁶⁷ and had been unable to forget the pitiful suffering of their inhabitants. Furthermore he was in a position to understand and sympathize with the situation of those left behind. It was also a bitter and humiliating blow to his Roman pride, and must have been a matter of major interest in 369.

It is at the very end of the *Breviarium*, however, that Eutropius shows his feelings most vividly. In addition to criticizing Jovian's necessary but shameful peace with Sapor he discusses Rome's refusal to ratify similar dishonourable treaties in the past.⁶⁸ Ammianus, who had also taken part in Julian's Persian campaign and had witnessed the same lamentable scenes as Eutropius, was likewise angry at what he regarded as an ignominious peace concluded by Jovian.⁶⁹ Indeed, he felt it would have been better to have fought ten battles rather than give up even one of Rome's fortresses.⁷⁰ His comments are very reminiscent of those of Eutropius and it seems probable that we have here another example of the historian's indebtedness to the breviarist.⁷¹

Eutropius' implicit advice does not seem to have been followed, even though Valens may initially have intended to do so. Domestic plots engaged his attention.⁷² Consequently, despite the victories of his generals Trajanus (a strange coincidence of names) and Vadomir, the

⁶⁶Festus, 20. For his dependence here upon Eutropius (as I believe) or a common source *vid.* J. W. Eadie, *The Breviarium of Festus* (London, 1967), 140.

⁶⁷Ammianus, 25.9.1 ff.

⁶⁸Eutrop. 10.17.

⁶⁹Ammianus, 25.7.13.

⁷⁰Ammianus, 25.7.10.

⁷¹Ammianus, 25.9.7. Sir Ronald Syme has already noted that Ammianus had recourse to Eutropius (*op. cit.* in note 40, 105.). Cf. Ammianus, 14.11.10 and Eutrop. 9.24; Ammianus, 15.5.8 and Eutrop. 9.26. *Vid.* also E.A. Thompson, *op. cit.* in note 24, 121.

⁷²Ammianus, 29.1.1-4.

emperor was not able to make any serious attempt to recover the lost provinces, but he did refuse to yield to Sapor's later demands regarding Armenia and Iberia.⁷³ No settlement was reached between the two empires until about 388 when Armenia was finally partitioned and Persia acquired the lion's share, about five sixths of the country. Still, the Roman section was of significant strategic importance and, as Jones asserts, "peace with Persia was worth paying for."⁷⁴

In 369 Eutropius could not foresee Valens' domestic problems of 371-372. Accordingly he makes it clear that the Romans had endured severe losses in the past and still emerged victorious. In more than eleven centuries they had never given in, triumphing over all difficulties. In his narrative of the Republican period Eutropius delights in reciting the vast extent of enemy casualties, the incredible resources of the Roman state. Even after the sack of Rome by the Gauls, when the Latins refused to furnish troops, the Romans raised sixty thousand men by themselves, "so great was power of the Romans in war while their territory was as yet but small."⁷⁵ In the Imperial period, too, he continues to emphasize the magnitude of Rome's victories. In 369, therefore, Eutropius had no doubts about Rome's military ability to maintain its empire. One can only speculate about his feeling several years later in 378 when the Goths destroyed the Roman army at Adrianople and killed Valens and most of his senior officers. It is likely, however, that even this disaster would not have shattered his imperial pride and confidence. Ammianus, Eutropius' contemporary, certainly retained his. While discussing an earlier Roman defeat by the Goths in 376 he writes:

"Those who are ignorant of history say that the state was never before overspread by such a dark cloud of misfortune, but they are deceived by the horror of the recent ills which have overwhelmed them. For if they study earlier times or those which have recently passed, these will show that such dire disturbances

⁷³Ammianus, 30.2.1-8.

⁷⁴Jones, *L.R.E.* vol. I, 158.

⁷⁵Eutrop. 2.6.

have often happened."⁷⁶

He, too, goes on to stress Rome's ability to suffer major disasters and still recover. This theme was subsequently developed by Claudian and Rutilius Namatianus "with apparent conviction," and, by the end of the fourth century, "had become something of a commonplace, at any rate among educated circles in the West."⁷⁷

For Eutropius, however, the theme was probably not a mere commonplace. Writing immediately after Valens' victories over the Goths and having experienced at first hand the successes of Julian in the east, he felt that the Persians could be defeated and the lost provinces recovered, if only the Romans would act energetically.

Although Valens seemed pleased with the *Breviarium* it evidently did not satisfy all of his requirements. Within a very short time, probably early in 370,⁷⁸ he asked Festus not only to compose a much shorter version but also to place heavier emphasis on the eastern half of the Empire and, in particular, on Rome's dealings with Parthia and Persia.⁷⁹ Festus complied and was duly rewarded. The East takes up two thirds of his account, Persia alone almost half. Like Eutropius, Festus stresses Rome's military successes and often softens or explains away Rome's defeats.⁸⁰ He, too, was a patriotic imperialist for whom there was no such thing as a definite loss.⁸¹

The works of Eutropius and Festus, appearing as they did within months of each other and both at the request of the emperor Valens, demonstrate a remarkable confidence in the empire and its resources. There is no hint of pessimism or defeatism. Valens wanted and obtained

⁷⁶Ammianus, 31.5.11-17.

⁷⁷Thompson, *op.cit.*, 131, citing Claudian, *Bell. Get.* 145 ff; *Stil. III*, 144 ff.; Rutilius, *de reditu suo*, I. 121 ff.

⁷⁸Eadie, *op. cit.* in note 66, 2.

⁷⁹Cf. Momigliano, *loc. cit.* in note 56; A. Cameron, *C.R.* n.s.19 (1969), 305-307; den Boer, *op. cit.*, 173.

⁸⁰E.g. Crassus' defeat at Carrhae in 53 B.C. (Festus, *Brev.* 18).

⁸¹Den Boer, *op. cit.*, 199, 201.

two different but complementary, upbeat accounts of Roman history, in part to justify his intended campaign against the Persians. Preparations may have commenced as early as 370 and the emperor subsequently moved to Antioch to take charge personally.⁸² Other events supervened, however, and both empires offered only limited military responses to each other. The great eastern campaign never occurred. Diplomacy took the place of armed conflict and Rome had to accept the permanent loss of those provinces surrendered to Jovian.⁸³ The jingoistic encouragement of both Eutropius and Festus proved to be nugatory.

In addition to the two relatively overt purposes of the *Breviarium*, however, both almost certainly defined by the emperor, one can detect a third, shrewdly inserted by the author. Eutropius held senatorial rank, as he notes in his dedication. This is important because it would significantly affect his point of view and one of the most important issues of the day was the position and influence of the senate.⁸⁴ Although this had long been a major concern, the accession of Valentinian and Valens in 364, both military men from Pannonia, exacerbated the situation. Apparently Valentinian "hated the well-dressed, the learned, the rich and the high-born."⁸⁵ Pannonians and others of humble origin were promoted to positions of power as Valentinian reorganized Italy and Rome.⁸⁶ Senators, on the other hand, were excluded from many of their customary offices, especially the vicariate and prefecture of Rome, while most of the consulships went to generals and senior administrative posts were generally assigned to tried and trusted professionals. Consequently relations between Valentinian and the senate grew strained and in the later

⁸²Ammianus, 29.1.1-4; A. Piganiol, *L'Empire chrétien 325-395* (Paris, 1947), 175-177.

⁸³For diplomatic relations between the two empires *vid.* R. Blockley, *Rome and Persia: International Relations in Late Antiquity* (Ottawa, 1985), 19 ff.

⁸⁴W. den Boer, *op. cit.* in note 36, 150; A. Momigliano, *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography*. (Oxford, 1977), 174.

⁸⁵Ammianus, 30.8.10; cf. *Epit.* 45. According to Procopius, Valens was a *Pannonius degener* (Ammianus, 26.7.16).

⁸⁶A.H.M. Jones, *L.R.E.*, vol. I, 141; J. Matthews, *Western Aristocracies and the Imperial Court A.D. 364-425* (Oxford, 1975), 35-41.

years of his reign, amid a series of investigations and trials, many senators were exiled or even executed.⁸⁷ As Secretary of State for General Petitions Eutropius clearly enjoyed Valens' favour, but he could still sympathize with the plight of his fellow senators at Rome.

By the fourth century, following the autocratic tendencies of Diocletian and his successors, the emperor was no longer *First among equals* but rather *Master of the whole world*.⁸⁸ He had become responsible for whatever befell the state, good or ill, and the history of the empire had consequently become the history of the emperors. Nevertheless the senate of the fourth century still regarded itself as the *Better part of the human race*;⁸⁹ its prestige and power continued to be potent factors which successive emperors could not ignore. It, in turn, accepted autocracy as inevitable, the only means of ensuring stability. Nonetheless the conduct of the emperor towards it was crucial. As a senatorial spokesman, then, Eutropius endeavoured to demonstrate what the relations between the emperors and the senate should be.⁹⁰ His deceptively simple account of republican history underlined the senate's significant role in overseeing Rome's emergence as a world power. In the imperial period he diligently noted its good relations with the army and the popular emperors down to the reign of Quintillus. The material he selected was frequently chosen with a purpose and not simply copied slavishly from the sources. Its inclusion was intended to persuade an emperor, who was not particularly perspicacious or well-read,⁹¹ of the role of the senate in Rome's history and to plead its cause for the future.

⁸⁷A. Alföldi, *A Conflict of Ideas in the Late Roman Empire; the Clash between the Senate and Valentinian I* (Oxford, 1952), 48 ff; E.A. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 101-102; C. Schuurmans, "Valentinien I et le sénat romain", *Antiq. class.*, 18, 1949, 25. But cf. Matthews, *loc. cit.*

⁸⁸Ammianus, 15.1.3; 29.5.46; Victor, *De Caes.*, 5.4; 8.8; Festus, 26; 28.

⁸⁹Symm. *Ep.* I. 52.

⁹⁰*Vid.*, the telling statement in the dedication: "that your Serenity's divine mind may rejoice to learn that it has followed the actions of illustrious men in governing the empire..."

⁹¹Ammianus describes Valens as "*subagrestis ingenii, nec bellicis nec liberalibus studiis eruditus*" (31.14.5) and "*inconsummatus et rudis*" (31.14.8).

Eutropius' preoccupation with the senate is evident throughout the first four books which end with the triumphs of Metellus and Marius over Jugurtha. The senate is mentioned fifteen times,⁹² but only once (1.13) negatively. Otherwise Eutropius emphasizes the way the senate governed the growing state with wisdom, honour and patriotism. He especially notes that the senate repudiated the ignominious peace treaties with the Samnites, Numantines and Numidians,⁹³ a theme to which he will revert in his penultimate chapter, when he indignantly denounces Jovian's shameful peace with the Persians,.

Throughout his description of the republican period Eutropius discusses many social, political or economic affairs, often with balanced judgement. Nonetheless, he completely omits mention of those two important second-century figures, the Gracchi. One has to question this glaring omission. Den Boer believes that the author was not interested in their socioeconomic importance or the political and constitutional significance of their activities.⁹⁴ That is, of course, possible, but I am convinced that the main reason was Eutropius' disapproval of their anti-senatorial stance. This is borne out by his treatment of Marius, Sulla and Q. Caecilius Metellus, the one-time patron and subsequent enemy of Marius. In the post-Gracchan period the Caecilii Metelli were one of the dominant families at Rome, and its members are frequently mentioned by Eutropius prior to his discussion of the Jugurthine War.⁹⁵ The campaigns of L. Calpurnius Bestia and Sp. Postumius Albinus had been ignominious for the Romans in the opinion of Eutropius (4.26). He then gave the credit to Q. Caecilius Metellus (cos. 109) for restoring the Roman army to its former discipline, (4.27). Metellus, after defeating Jugurtha in various battles, killed or captured his elephants and caused many towns to surrender. He was, it would seem, just on the point of putting an end to the war when he was succeeded by Marius. The latter actually finished the war through his quaestor, Cornelius Sulla, who had

⁹²Eutrop. 1.2; 1.6; 1.13; 2.5; 2.9; 2.23; 2.25; 2.27; 3.10; 3.21; 4.4; 4.17; 4.20; 4.21; 4.24.

⁹³Eutrop. 2.9; 4.17; 4.24.

⁹⁴*Op. cit.*, 166.

⁹⁵Eutrop. 4.13; 4.14; 4.16; 4.21; 4.23; 4.25. On their importance *vid.* E. Gruen, *Roman Politics and the Criminal Courts 149-78 B.C.* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), ch. IV.

Bocchus betray Jugurtha. Both Metellus and Marius celebrated triumphs over Jugurtha, even if it was before the chariot of the latter that Jugurtha was led (4.27). Eutropius' favour for Metellus and implicit depreciation of Marius is evident later at the beginning of Book Six, where he writes of "Quintus Caecilius Metellus, the son of that Metellus who had subdued Jugurtha".

This bias is even more manifest at the beginning of Book Five. Marius was made consul a second time after the victory over Jugurtha because of the imminent threat of the Cimbri and the Teutones. A third and fourth consulship were granted him as the wars were protracted.

"But in the fourth consulship he had as a colleague Quintus Lutatius Catulus. Consequently (*itaque*) he joined battle with the Cimbri and in two battles killed 200,000 of the enemy, took 80,000 prisoners with their general Teutobodus and for this service he was elected consul a fifth time in his absence" (5.1.4).

The *itaque* seems to have been inserted deliberately to enhance the role of Catulus, as we shall see. Immediately afterwards Eutropius describes a second battle against the Germans fought by Marius and Catulus. The author emphasizes the greater success of Catulus. Their armies were of equal size, but Marius took only two standards, while Catulus captured thirty-one (5.2). Absolutely no mention is made of Marius' momentous army reforms, which helped to bring about the victories over the German invaders and, in the long run, to transform the history of the Late Republic.⁹⁶

In the Social War, which Eutropius discusses next, it is Sulla who is on prominent display. Among other outstanding exploits he so thoroughly routed Cluentius' numerous forces that he allegedly lost only one man of his own. The conflict lasted four years; in the fifth it was terminated by Sulla, who had greatly distinguished himself on many occasions as praetor in the same war (5.3).

In the Civil War which followed, Marius, then in his sixth

⁹⁶E. Gabba, "Le Origini dell'esercito professionale in Roma: i proletari e la riforma di Mario", *Athenaeum*, 27, 1949, 173-209; *id.*, "Ricerche sull'esercito professionale romano da Mario ad Augusto", *Athenaeum*, 29, 1951, 171-272; R.E. Smith, *Service in the Post-Marian Roman Army* (Manchester, 1958), 9 ff; G.R. Watson, *The Roman Soldier* (Bristol, 1969), 21-22; H. Last, *C.A.H.*, IX, 1932, 133-137, 146-147.

consulship, is charged with instigating the conflict through his ambition to be appointed commander against Mithridates. Sulla, the first to enter the city in arms, is exonerated because he was driven by Marius to take that action (5.4).

We then find Sulla fighting in Greece, having killed Sulpicius and driven Marius out of Rome. At the Piraeus Sulla defeated Archelaus, Mithridates' general, and his army of 120,000. Only ten thousand were left, while the Romans had only fourteen men killed (5.6). Peace with Mithridates was granted on Roman terms, after which Sulla was compelled to hasten to Rome because, while he was busy winning victories over Mithridates in Greece and Asia (i.e. over a foreign foe), Marius and Cinna had recommenced hostilities at Rome, put to death the noblest of the senate and various ex-consuls and proscribed many. The rest of the senate quit Rome and fled to Sulla, begging him to save his country. He defeated Norbanus near Capua, killed seven thousand of Norbanus' men, captured six thousand and lost only 124 himself. Scipio's army came over to him without a fight (5.7). Against Marius junior he killed 15,000 and lost only 400. At the battle of the Colline Gate he cut down 58,000 and captured the remaining 12,000 (5.8). Eutropius accords Sulla the honour of having composed the troubles of the state, namely those two most lamentable wars, the Social and the Civil (5.9 and 6.1), in which more than 150,000 men had been killed, including nearly 200 senators. Marius, by implication, is left as the villain of the piece. By contrast a brief, eminently fairer synopsis of the careers of Marius and Sulla is given by the unknown author of the *de Viris Illustribus* (67 and 75). Another fourth-century writer, the author of the *Historia Augusta*, compares Commodus with Sulla as a mass-murderer and stigmatizes Septimius Severus as a Punic Sulla or Marius for putting countless senators to death.⁹⁷

There can be little doubt that Eutropius' sympathies were entirely pro-Sullan and decidedly pro-senatorial.⁹⁸ It is most unlikely that he was ignorant of the Gracchi and their activities: the author of the *de Viris*

⁹⁷*H.A. Comm.*, 8.1; *Pesc. Nig.*, 6.4. For other negative impressions of Sulla in the *Historia Augusta*, *vid.*, *Carac.*, 2.2; 4.10; 5.4.

⁹⁸For emphasis on the bad treatment of the senate *vid.* Eutrop., 7.2; 7.3; 7.14; 9.1; 9.14; 10.11. Cf. 8.4; 8.8; 8.13.

Illustribus has chapters on both (64-65), the author of the *Historia Augusta* drags them in as alleged ancestors of the Gordians (*Gord.* 2.2), and Ammianus Marcellinus plainly knew of them (30.4.19). It appears that Marius and the Gracchi were, even in the fourth century, accepted as opponents of the senate, and the senatorial Eutropius deliberately chose to belittle the former while totally ignoring the latter. Sulla emerges as the hero of those difficult days with decidedly positive roles assigned to Q. Caecilius Metellus and Q. Lutatius Catulus, both members of the Roman nobility. In fact Catulus had been badly beaten by the Cimbri near Tridentum in 102 and had been compelled to give up the Po valley to the invaders. Marius joined him the following year and together they won the great victory over the Cimbri at the Raudine Plain.⁹⁹ Metellus, as censor in 102, tried to expel Saturninus and Glaucia from the senate; but this merely resulted in mob violence, and his colleague, Caprarius, would not back him. In 100 he was exiled for refusing an oath to observe Saturninus' agrarian law. Recalled soon afterwards, he never regained his political prominence. Neither Catulus nor Metellus was as significant in Roman history as the Gracchi or Marius, but to Eutropius they represented "the right stuff", the proper exemplars to set before the emperor Valens and other fourth-century readers.

Caesar also comes in for a good deal of criticism. In 6.19 Eutropius observes that the Civil War caused by Caesar's demand for a second consulship was truly execrable and deplorable, for, besides the havoc occurring in the various battles, the very fortune of the Roman people was changed. The consuls and the whole Senate left Rome and joined Pompey. Indeed, according to Eutropius, Caesar, after terminating the civil wars, returned to Rome and began to conduct himself with excessive arrogance, contrary to the customs of Roman liberty. He personally disposed of those positions of honour which the people had previously conferred, did not even rise when the Senate approached him, and exercised regal and almost tyrannical powers. The natural consequence of this was the conspiracy led by the two Bruti, of the family of that Brutus who had expelled the kings; a conspiracy which culminated in the assassination of Caesar. Book Seven begins with the renewal of the civil war because the senators favoured the assassins and Antony attempted to

⁹⁹*Vid.*, T.F. Carney, "Marius' Choice of Battlefield in the Campaign of 101". *Athenaeum*, 36, 1958, 229-237.

crush them. It was on that account, Eutropius asserts, that the Republic was thrown into confusion and Antony, who was committing many crimes, was declared a public enemy. Unfortunately Octavian was reconciled to Antony through Lepidus and the three proceeded to proscribe the senate and put to death Cicero and many others of the nobility (7.2). Even more, including Cassius and Brutus, perished subsequently at Philippi and the republic was divided up among the conquerors (7.3). In effect that battle signified the end of the republic and of the senate's dominant role in politics. Eutropius was well aware of the fact; he makes no further mention of the senate until the reign of Nero and henceforth it is only its relationship with the emperors which is discussed.

Two of Rome's most infamous emperors, Nero and Domitian, were guilty of putting to death many of the senators, and came to sticky ends.¹⁰⁰ In fact the senate went so far as to declare Nero a public enemy (7.15). "Good" emperors, however, such as Vespasian and Titus, were beloved and respected by the senate (7.20; 7.22), and Trajan, who stands preeminent in this list, did nothing unjust to any senator (8.4). Marcus Aurelius refused to lay taxes on the provinces or the senate, preferring to auction off his own and his wife's property (8.13). All were naturally deified.¹⁰¹ Eutropius thereafter notes the senate's role in acclaiming several of the succeeding emperors, adding brief comments in a few instances.¹⁰² The comments themselves are intriguing. Elagabalus arrived in Rome amid the great expectations of both the army and the senate. He behaved with such obscenity and utter shamelessness, however, that he was killed in a military revolt together with his mother (8.22). Aurelius Alexander succeeded him, acclaimed Caesar by the army, Augustus by the senate (8.23). This linkage of the army and the senate appears deliberate, though historically inaccurate in the latter case,

¹⁰⁰Eutrop. 7.14-15; 7.23.

¹⁰¹For the consecration of the emperors *vid. den Boer, op. cit.*, 151-158. He observes that Eutropius is unique "in recording the *consecratio* (or its omission) of nearly all the emperors".

¹⁰²Eutrop. 8.16; 8.23; 9.7; 9.11; 9.12.

since the senate actually proclaimed him Caesar in June, 221.¹⁰³ Indeed, the *Historia Augusta* criticizes and corrects Eutropius on this point.¹⁰⁴ Eutropius' objective here seems to be an attempt to show Valens that the army and the senate could and should work together.

The author then commences Book Nine with the telling statement that Maximinus succeeded Alexander:

"The first emperor who was elected from the military solely by the will of the soldiers since no authorization of the senate had been given and he himself was not a senator."¹⁰⁵

Eutropius' disapproval is evident, though not as explicit as that of Aurelius Victor.¹⁰⁶

Finally Eutropius informs his readers that Claudius succeeded Gallienus, chosen by the soldiers and declared emperor by the senate (9.11)¹⁰⁷ Upon his death two years later the senate accorded him extraordinary honours, by deifying him and erecting a gold shield to him in the senate house and a gold statue on the Capitol. This felicitous harmony between the army and the senate continued into the next reign when the army elected as emperor Quintillus, Claudius' brother (9.12). It was with the consent of the senate that he was acclaimed Augustus. Unfortunately, at least for Eutropius (and Aurelius Victor), the co-operation between the army and the senate was not to recur and Eutropius probably assumed that at this juncture the senate lost its role in conferring

¹⁰³*Fer. Dur.*, II, 16/17; *H.A. Alex.*, 1.2; *Heliog.*, 1.5; S. Dusanic, "Severus Alexander as Elagabalus' Associate", *Historia*, 13, 1964, 487-498.

¹⁰⁴*H.A. Heliog.*, 64.4-5; T.D. Barnes, "The Lost Kaisergeschichte and the Latin Historical Tradition", *B.H.A.C.* 1968/69, 1970, 38.

¹⁰⁵Cf. Victor, *De Caes.*, 25.1; *H.A. Max. Duo.* 8.1.

¹⁰⁶*De Caes.* 25.2.

¹⁰⁷Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 34.1; *H.A. Gall.* 15.3; *Claud.* 1.1-2; *Zos.* 1.46; *Oros.* 7.23.1; *Syn. Sathas*, p. 39. Victor here applauds what he considers to be the one positive action of a generally corrupt and venal army.

legitimacy on the appointees of the army.¹⁰⁸ At any event the author makes no further mention of the august body, although he continues to register the consecration of the emperors down to Jovian, and this, according to den Boer,¹⁰⁹ was the most important senatorial prerogative. One can only presume that Eutropius felt that he had made his case in the earlier chapters for the harmonious co-operation of the emperor, the army and senate, the three essential elements of the empire. Den Boer has also observed that Eutropius, unlike Victor, "keeps silent on the pusillanimity of the senate".¹¹⁰ This is to be expected. The political climate had changed in the decade since the appearance of the *De Caesaribus* and by 369 the senate was more in need of support than criticism. Six years later, with the accession of Gratian to the throne, the pendulum had swung again. Within a brief period the supporters of Valentinian had been removed (some were even executed) and the senate became reconciled with the court. Its members once more served in their accustomed offices of state and criminal cases involving them now went before the urban prefect and his special court. The following year *clarissimi* like Eutropius were no longer subject to torture. No wonder Symmachus could rejoice over the beginnings of a new age.¹¹¹

Under such circumstances the carefully crafted defence of the senate in the *Breviarium* would not have been necessary and the work may have been quite different. The Emperor Gratian had by then reassured the senatorial aristocracy of its three points of concern: the protection of property, personal security and social standing.

¹⁰⁸Victor (*De Caes.* 36) believed that the senate won back from the army its right to select emperors when it chose Aurelian's successor, Tacitus. The *H.A.* concurred; "*quam gravis senatus auctoritas fuit*" (*Tac.* 2.2).

¹⁰⁹*Op. cit.*, 151. Den Boer further suggests (161) that "the hostility between the soldiers and senate largely determined Eutropius' view of the past and particularly of the previous century. He must have agreed with Victor...".

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹¹*Ep.*, 1.13. For a sound account of these times *vid.* Matthews, *op. cit.*, in note 86, 64-87 and for the whole period, Matthews, *The Roman World of Ammianus* (London, 1989).

The senatorial elite of the fourth century, to which Eutropius belonged, was not concerned with justifying autocracy. They accepted it as the natural order of things and fully realized that the imperial system, when not fragmented by usurpations, created an environment within which their personal property, prerogatives and security were adequately protected. Naturally the conduct of the emperors had a profound impact upon them and their interests, consequently they were intent on fostering good relations between themselves and their rulers. The emperors, in turn, though they could intimidate the aristocracy by force if they enjoyed the loyalty of the army, generally preferred a comfortable cooperation. Among other considerations, senators or their adherents still controlled the writing of history and many emperors, like their modern counterparts, kept an eye on posterity.

Eutropius was well aware that Julius Caesar had overthrown the senate-controlled Republic, but he also realized that it was Octavian who had delivered the *coup de grâce*, extorting a consulate at the age of nineteen by means of his army, forcibly holding the state in subjection with the help of Antony and Lepidus, and executing Cicero and many other nobles (7.2). Yet after Actium a new Octavian Augustus emerged who added Egypt to the empire and gave peace to the Roman world. For his subsequent monumental achievements he deserved to be compared to a god.

What is remarkable here is that the author, looking back more than four centuries, plainly distinguished between the young military upstart, who had used naked force to usurp power and eliminate opposition, and the subsequent statesman who had ruled forty-four years and demonstrated what were, to Eutropius, the most cherished imperial qualities. The use of superlatives is significant and meant, I am sure, as a hint to Valens if he wished to obtain a similar reputation and bequeath a similar legacy.

The following emperors of the first century A.D. are regarded according to the formula laid down by the accounts of Suetonius and Tacitus. Tiberius, Caligula, Nero and Domitian were condemned as tyrants, Claudius, however, fared somewhat better. He added Britain to the empire and generally behaved with restraint and showed courtesy to the senate. Only Vespasian and Titus were highly praised for their military qualities and successes and for their gentle and amiable dispositions.

What is immediately evident in Eutropius' discussion of the first-

century emperors is his constant stress on certain virtues and vices and on the emperors' relations with the senate. Most of these virtues and vices appear in the tradition, formed by Suetonius, which both Aurelius Victor and Eutropius generally followed.¹¹² The latter, however, retained an independence of purpose which influenced his use of the traditional material. Accordingly he accentuated the importance of loyalty to friends, and repeatedly demonstrated that good emperors enjoyed good relations with the senate and did not put senators to death.¹¹³ Finally, he believed that it was an emperor's duty to extend, or at least to consolidate, the empire. Further evidence of this is manifested throughout his discussion of succeeding emperors not subject to the Suetonian tradition.

Eutropius begins a new era with Book Eight and the accession of Nerva. For this emperor, as for Augustus, Vespasian and Titus, superlatives are employed. His adoption of Trajan is emphasized, his deification was a natural consequence.

It soon becomes apparent that Trajan was Eutropius' most revered emperor. No matter that his family was more ancient than eminent or that he came from Italica in Spain. He ruled in such an exemplary manner that he was deservedly preferred to all other emperors. The Roman empire which, after Augustus, had been defended rather than nobly expanded, he enlarged far and wide (8.2). After listing Trajan's military accomplishments and additions to the empire he observes that the emperor surpassed these with his civility and moderation. He behaved as an equal to all at Rome and in the provinces, often visited friends who were sick or celebrating a feast, and inviting them to banquets in return, while making no distinction in rank. Never did he harm any senator or act unjustly to augment the treasury, but rather he enriched and honoured all publicly and privately. Throughout his reign *only one senator was*

¹¹²For imperial virtues and vices in Suetonius *vid.* B. Mouchova, *Studien zu Kaizerbiographien Suetons* (Acta Univ. Carolinae; Phil. et Hist. Monog. xxii, Prague 1968), 42-51; A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Suetonius: The Scholar and his Caesars* (London, 1983), 142 ff. For Victor *vid.* H.W. Bird, *Sextus Aurelius Victor: A Historiographical Study* (Liverpool, 1984), 104-105. For Eutropius' use of *civilis/civilitas* *vid.* Book Ten, note 39.

¹¹³Both Suetonius and Eutropius held senior imperial secretaryships, but the former was not a senator, nor were relations between the emperor and the senate so critical when he was writing his *Lives of the Emperors*.

condemned, and that occurred through the senate without Trajan's knowledge. Consequently he was universally regarded as almost a god and both while alive and when dead he deservedly received nothing but veneration. Indeed, when rebuked by his friends for being too courteous to everyone he allegedly stated that he was such an emperor to his subjects as he had wished the emperor should be to him as a subject. Finally, Eutropius remarks that the respect for Trajan was so great that even in his day the senate's acclamation of the emperor remained *Felicio Augusto, melior Traiano*.¹¹⁴ This is Eutropius' longest and most laudatory description of any individual in the *Breviarium*.

In contrast Eutropius has little good to say of Hadrian. That emperor was eloquent in Latin, learned in Greek, attentive to the treasury and military discipline but had no great reputation for clemency. As a consequence the senate refused him divine honours and had to be compelled by Antoninus Pius to consecrate him. What is significant here is that the author prudently suppresses the unfavourable story that Hadrian had imprisoned a number of senators in order to execute them. Victor (14.11-13) has the story, as does the *Historia Augusta* (*Hadr.* 24.4, 25.8; *Pius* 2.4), and the Epitomator (14.9) states that he actually did kill many senators.

The next two emperors, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, are naturally regarded as exemplary rulers and both are connected with Numa Pompilius. Pius defended rather than enlarged the provinces but he chose honest men for his administration, respected the good and disliked the bad, though he did not treat the latter severely. He enriched his friends and gained the epithet Pius for his clemency. Marcus Aurelius accepted his elevation with humility, and behaved *to all at Rome as an equal*. This, of course, refers to the aristocracy. Again we are treated to a paragon for whom superlatives may be used. In addition to his great learning he was outstandingly peaceful and liberal and ruled the provinces with great kindness and moderation. In warfare he defeated the Marcomanni, Quadi, and Sarmatians and freed Pannonia from slavery (Valens would be pleased to read this). He even sold off his personal effects to avoid taxing the provinces and the senate. That Eutropius considered Marcus Aurelius another imperial *exemplum* is clearly demonstrated in 10.16: Julian was not unlike him and even endeavoured

¹¹⁴"More fortunate than Augustus, better than Trajan."

to emulate him.

Unfortunately Commodus was utterly unlike his father, except for his German successes. The author accuses him of luxury and licentiousness, and, indirectly, of pride, for he tried to have September named after himself. He died execrated by all and was called "an enemy of the human race" (8.15), a neat reversal of Titus' epithet, "the love and delight of the human race" (7.21).

Septimius Severus, the only African to become emperor, fares well in the *Breviarium*, particularly on account of his eastern conquests and defeat of the Parthians. Furthermore, the emperor was accomplished in literature and philosophy (8.19): his only two faults were parsimony and a natural harshness. Pesc. Niger is simply dismissed as a rebel, as is Clodius Albinus, who allegedly assisted Julianus in the murder of Pertinax (8.18).

Eutropius has little to say about the last three emperors mentioned in Book Eight. Elagabalus is dismissed as a shameless pervert (8.22). Alexander, however, did fight the Persians and defeated their King, Xerxes, with great glory. Furthermore he was a military disciplinarian and employed Ulpian, the *iuris conditor*, as his *magister scrinii* and was a favourite at Rome (8.23).

Book Nine again introduces a new era. Maximinus was the first man to be elected emperor by the army without the authorization of the senate and, even worse, he was not a senator. This was important to Eutropius; to Aurelius Victor the fact that he was practically illiterate was of deeper significance.¹¹⁵ Similarly remarkable differences are instructive in the accounts of Eutropius and Victor concerning the Gordians and Philip, although it is evident that each followed the same circumscribed source. Victor dwells upon events in Africa, upon moral issues, portents and prophecies, the greed of the soldiers. He also observes Gordian III's revival of the Capitoline Games and Philip's drainage schemes at Rome and is more detailed on the 1000th anniversary celebrations at Rome.¹¹⁶ In his far briefer account Eutropius' only emphatic point is that Gordian made war on the Parthians and severely defeated the Persians in major battles.

¹¹⁵*De Caes.* 25.1.

¹¹⁶*De Caes.* 26-28.

After dismissing Decius and his immediate successors in a few lines Eutropius hastens on to the important reign of Valerian and Gallienus. Their joint rule was destructive and almost fatal to Rome because of their misfortune or lethargy. Indeed, the Germans even reached Ravenna and Valerian was defeated and captured by Sapor, the Persian King, and grew old in shameful servitude (9.7). Gallienus ruled well at first, acting decisively in Gaul and Illyricum, but subsequently his reign deteriorated and while he behaved with total licentiousness his reign was characterised by inactivity and desperation. Eutropius observes the massive onslaughts on so many parts of the empire during these years (9.9) but he also notes that Postumus saved Gaul and Odenathus not only defended Syria and recovered Mesopotamia but even penetrated the Persian realm as far as Ctesiphon (9.10).

Gallienus' successor, Claudius II, is praised as a frugal, modest and just emperor to whom the senate voted extraordinary honours and whose brother and successor, Quintillus, showed similar qualities (9.11-12).

Eutropius was singularly clear-sighted in his estimation of Aurelian. The latter was, indeed, a fine soldier, but hot-tempered and inclined to cruelty. While he did restore both eastern and western parts of the empire and was a military disciplinarian and corrector of dissolute morals, he was severe in his suppression of the mint workers and executed many of the nobility, consequently he was hardly an example to follow (9.13-14).

On the other hand, Tacitus, man of outstanding morality, was just like Claudius, and Probus is portrayed as Aurelian's equal in military reputation, but clearly superior in his treatment of others (9.17). Persia is again on the author's mind when he discusses Carus. He had remarkable success against Rome's eastern foe, winning victories, and capturing Coche and Ctesiphon (9.18).

This theme recurs in Eutropius' account of the tetrarchy. **Galerius' initial defeat by Narses is carefully explained. His small army was bested** by a huge host of the Persians and Galerius is faulted for fighting in an ill-advised rather than cowardly manner (9.24). Subsequently, however, when forces had been gathered from Illyricum and Moesia, Galerius won a great victory in Armenia against Narses, the grandfather (Eutropius is emphatic) of Hormisda and Sapor. Planning and courage prevailed. Galerius destroyed Narses' camp, captured his sisters, his children, a vast number of the Persian nobility and huge amounts of treasure. The king himself was forced to flee to the remotest deserts of his realm. Successes

against the Carpi, Bastarnae and Sarmatians are appended for good measure (9.25).

When Eutropius sums up the characters of Diocletian and Maximian he is remarkably candid. Diocletian behaved cruelly in Egypt and afflicted the provinces with severe proscriptions and massacres. Nevertheless he made many provident and judicious arrangements which were still in effect in Eutropius' day (9.23). He was cunning but sagacious and shrewd and ready to shift responsibility for his own severity onto others. Moreover he was a most diligent and able emperor, but it was he who introduced royal usages and dress at court which were out of step with the customs of Roman liberty. On the other hand, he demonstrated extraordinary *virtus* by retiring voluntarily from his imperial position so that although he died a private individual, he was still enrolled among the gods. This had never happened to anyone before since men were created gods (9.26; 9.28). Eutropius is so struck by this (as is Victor), that he makes it the conclusion to his ninth book.

By contrast Eutropius' criticism of Maximian is unremitting and scathing. The latter was openly savage and coarse: even his face showed his harshness with its fearsome expression. To gratify his own inclinations he supported Diocletian's excessively cruel measures (9.27). His treacherous nature is demonstrated by his attempts to overthrow both his son, Maxentius, and his son-in-law, Constantine. In short, he was harsh, cruel, faithless, perverse and utterly devoid of common decency (10.3). Strangely enough, Aurelius Victor judges Maximian far less harshly. He bemoans the emperor's lack of cultivation and humanity, but adds that both he and Diocletian understood the hardships of rural and military life and were the best rulers for the state.¹¹⁷ Moreover Maximian was a loyal friend, of good character and great military experience, and was treacherous only to Constantine. Though both writers followed the same source Eutropius, unlike Victor, could in no way forgive Maximian's cruelty and faithlessness and deliberately chose to ignore his positive qualities. By contrast those of Constantius and Galerius are prominently displayed (10.1-2).

In his description of Constantine Eutropius presents his readers with a balanced, even-handed account. Constantine's rule in Gaul met with the approval of both the soldiers and the people of the province (10.3). He

¹¹⁷*De Caes.* 39.26.

overthrew Maxentius when the latter was spreading death among the nobility with every possible kind of cruelty (10.3). Furthermore, he was assuredly a great man, set on effecting whatever he had in mind (10.5). At the beginning of his reign he was to be compared with the best of princes, for he possessed innumerable good qualities of mind and body, was extremely ambitious for military glory and had great successes in war, successes which were proportionate to his exertions. Even the Goths, whom he defeated, remembered his kindness. He was attached to civil arts and liberal studies, desired honourable popularity which he sought by all means of liberality and docility. Finally, though he was hesitant towards some of his friends, he was exceptionally kind to the rest and never missed an opportunity to enrich and honour them (10.7).

On the negative side Constantine grew somewhat insolent from his success and changed from his former mildness of temper. First he persecuted his relatives and then he executed his son, an outstanding man (Crispus is not named), and his sister's son, a youth of amiable disposition, and subsequently his wife and numerous friends (10.6). In the latter part of his reign he could only be compared with those princes of middling character (10.7), and of the many laws he enacted some were good and equitable but most were superfluous and some severe. Finally, he was the first to try to raise a city named after himself, to such a height as to make it rival Rome (10.8). That Eutropius regarded this last action negatively can be argued from the fact that he does not mention Constantinople by name. Indeed, he cites the eastern capital only once in the whole book, and that *en passant* (9.15). Aurelius Victor is similarly silent regarding Rome's eastern rival.¹¹⁸ There is no doubt that Eutropius had to exercise reasonable caution in discussing Constantine and his reign, but it is equally evident, from a comparison with Victor's *De Caesaribus*, that in 369 he did not feel the same constraints as his predecessor had ten years earlier. He expected that his franker portrayal would be welcomed by the aristocracy and many in the administration, but he also believed that Valens and the officer corps would find it acceptable. In view of his rapid promotion in 371 this appears to have been the case.

When he came to discuss the sons of Constantine Eutropius was also candid but fair. He observes that Constantius II sanctioned the murder of

¹¹⁸*De Caes.* 41.12.

his cousin Dalmatius, even if he did not order it (10.9). Constans, whose officers killed Constantine II, at first ruled vigorously and justly, but through ill-health and depraved friends he changed and was guilty of serious vices.¹¹⁹ Thus he became intolerable to the provincials and unpopular with the soldiers and accordingly was assassinated by Magnentius' faction. Nevertheless he had performed well militarily and had been feared by the army without using cruel methods (10.9).

Constantius' severe losses at the hands of the Persians are diligently recorded, as are his successes against Vetrician and Magnentius (10.10-12). Regarding his character, Eutropius is generally positive. Constantius was a man of outstanding tranquillity, peaceful and very moderate at the beginning of his reign. Above all he enriched his friends and allowed none whose active services he had experienced to go unrewarded. This last comment seems to be a personal one: it was presumably Constantius who had promoted Eutropius to the post of Secretary of State for Correspondence. On the other hand he trusted too much in his friends and courtiers and subsequently in his wives. In addition he was rather inclined to severity if he suspected any design on the throne. Otherwise he was a gentle ruler and deservedly enrolled among the gods (10.15).¹²⁰

Julian is credited with having restored the empire, then tottering on the brink of destruction, by driving out of Gaul with only a modest force the vast hordes of Alamanni and restoring the empire to its proper limits (10.14). In the east he captured a number of Persian towns and fortresses either by force or by inducing them to surrender. He devastated Assyria and for a time fixed his camp at Ctesiphon, before mingling rashly in the thick of battle and falling to an enemy (this last item is carefully inserted). Naturally he was deified. What follows is not merely a eulogistic description of an emperor whom Eutropius greatly admired, but also an *exemplum* of a near-perfect ruler for Valens to contemplate (10.16).

There are a few points in the long and mostly positive portrayal which Eutropius seems to have introduced deliberately to influence

¹¹⁹Cf. *De Caes.* 41.23-24, when he is accused of being arrogant, hot-tempered, avaricious, lustful, homosexual and of employing *depraved ministers*.

¹²⁰Cf. *De Caes.* 42.23; *Epit.* 42.18-19; Ammianus, 21.16.1 ff.

Valens. Julian was liberal to his friends (as were all the best emperors) but he showed less discernment than he should for there would always be false friends who would turn on the emperor when given the opportunity. It appears that Eutropius had witnessed this with regard to Julian after his death and the inference may not have been lost on Valens. Eutropius is also arguing for the provincials in the hope of persuading Valens to be frugal in his tax demands. He had seen what Julian had accomplished by efficient administration and had experienced in his job the inequities of the system and the enormous demands placed on the provincials. Finally, he sensibly criticized Julian's persecution of the Christians, which would please not only Valens but all his Christian ministers and officers, yet he simultaneously (and subtly) encourages his emperor to refrain from bloody persecutions. The comparison with the much admired Marcus Aurelius is a neat final touch.

In his concluding section Eutropius is naturally critical of Jovian's treaty but he does observe that the emperor was courteous and liberal. Again it is no accident that these particular qualities are emphasized; they are two of Eutropius' favourites.¹²¹

Suetonius was particularly fond of those emperors who performed their administrative functions properly, who accepted the hierarchy and traditions of Roman society and strengthened and enhanced them. But he also judged the emperors according to their ethical behaviour. Were they clement or cruel, liberal, mean or avaricious? Were they civil or arrogant, continent or self-indulgent, luxurious and lustful? Each emperor was measured by these criteria: good emperors showed up well, tyrants negatively on the same scale.¹²² Pliny, too, in his *Panegyric* (3.2), lists thirty-five imperial qualities which were meant to provide charismatic justification of the emperor's power by representing him as possessing what was deemed necessary for his position.¹²³ Thus, from the reign of Marcus Aurelius onwards, imperial virtues had become

¹²¹They were also two of Suetonius' favourites. The imperial biographer demanded of his emperors, *abstinentia*, *moderatio*, *liberalitas*, *civilitas* and *clementia* (A. Wallace-Hadrill, "The Emperor and his virtues," *Historia* 30 [1981], 313-314).

¹²²Wallace-Hadrill, *op. cit.* in note 112, 144-145.

¹²³Wallace-Hadrill, *op. cit.* in note 121, 317.

clichéd.¹²⁴ Eutropius, heir to this tradition, reflected in the same way as Suetonius the preoccupations of the class to which he belonged. The general situation had not changed in the intervening two and-a-half centuries. Emperors could still silence opposition by force and enrich and promote their supporters, often by extorting money from their opponents or by blocking their advancement. Naturally the senatorial aristocracy stood most to lose from an unfriendly emperor. It is understandable, therefore, that Eutropius should emphasize the fact that the best emperors were moderate, liberal, civil and clement, with reference, of course, to the senate, whereas bad emperors were cruel, arrogant, greedy and lascivious. Two of his benefactors, Valens and Theodosius, apparently heeded the advice of the senatorial spokesman. Valens was subsequently praised by the Epitomator for being faithful to his friends (46.3); Theodosius hated those who were treacherous and ungrateful (48.12). This is exactly what Eutropius had implicitly suggested in his eulogy of Julian and in his descriptions of Augustus and Trajan.

Unlike Aurelius Victor, Eutropius does not appear to have been overly preoccupied with the cultural attainments of the emperors.¹²⁵ He does, to be sure, mention those of Hadrian (8.7), Marcus Aurelius (8.9-10), Septimius Severus (8.19), Constantine (10.7) and Julian (10.16), though his remarks on Septimius Severus and Constantine are extremely brief and seem merely to be copies from his source. Moral qualities and imperial competence were much more important to him than education and cultural abilities. Yet another major distinction between Victor and Eutropius resides in their attitudes towards the emperors' military achievements. Victor practically ignored Augustus' expansion of the empire and gives only cursory attention to Trajan's conquests.¹²⁶ Building projects and domestic policy are accorded more space and Victor seizes every opportunity to vilify the army and castigate the corruption of the bureaucracy. By contrast, Eutropius describes at length the military exploits of the republican generals and of Augustus, Vespasian, Trajan

¹²⁴*Ibid.* 313-317.

¹²⁵For Victor *vid.* Bird, *op. cit.* in note 112, 71-80.

¹²⁶*De Caes.* 1.2; 13.3. But Victor shrewdly observes that Mesopotamia had been a constant cause of war with the Persians (*De Caes.* 38.2).

and the other emperors who nobly enlarged the territory of the empire. In particular, he dwells upon Rome's successes against the Parthians and Persians for the reasons already discussed.

Eutropius' manner of composition is deceptively unaffected, and he is not as open as Aurelius Victor in divulging his strongly-held opinions in personal interjections, but for the discerning reader they do become apparent in his treatment of the emperors. He plainly loathes cruelty, excessive severity, greed and ingratitude. On the other hand he admires military ability, efficient administration, moderation, liberality and civility. Friends should be supportive and faithful, and the emperor should reward them both with money and advancement. Finally, senators should be sacrosanct. Thus, although following the literary conventions of his day and the wishes of his emperor, Eutropius still manages to insert some of his own firmly-held convictions.

Some of Eutropius' advice, particularly in his description of Julian, seems to have been heeded by Valens. The emperor reduced the disastrous effects of the recent confiscation of civic lands and revenues by remitting to various cities a proportion of their civic taxes in 370 and 374. Furthermore, although the annual indictions had steadily increased for forty years before his reign, Valens managed to stabilize the amount collected in his first three years and actually reduced the indiction by half in his fourth year. Both Ammianus and Themistius applauded these achievements.¹²⁷

The Sources of the Breviarium

When discussing Eutropius' sources one should bear in mind that in 369, as *magister memoriae*, he was an extremely busy senior minister of state and would, therefore, have been obliged to write the *Breviarium* in whatever spare time he could contrive. Furthermore, it appears likely that Eutropius wrote most of his history while accompanying the emperor Valens on his campaign in the wild areas north of the Lower Danube, though he may have completed the final sections for which he needed no

¹²⁷ Ammianus, 30.9.1; 31.14.2-3; Themistius, *Or.* 8.112-113; Jones *L.R.E.* vol. I, 146-147. It is quite likely, of course, that Eutropius and his fellow ministers of state had made these proposals to Valens at various meetings and those favouring fiscal restraint had persuaded the emperor.

sources at Marcianopolis,¹²⁸ the capital of Lower Moesia. It was here that Valens had moved for the winter of 369 and where he received the deputations from the Goths. For the most part, then, Eutropius would not have had access to a library or state archives and would have been forced to rely upon works which he could take with him or perhaps borrow from his colleagues. In short, he would have had neither the time nor the resources to undertake extensive research as he intimates in his concluding remarks. Fortunately that was not important. The kind of abbreviated history that Valens had asked him to write would not demand prolonged or thorough research. It would require brevity, as Eutropius observes in his preface, and readability, if it were to appeal to the uncultivated army officers¹²⁹ or new Greek nobility of the East for whom it was primarily intended. Accordingly one should not expect Eutropius to have used a substantial number of sources but rather a few which were readily available, reasonably circumscribed, and would suit his purposes. That seems to have been the case.

For the regal and republican period the *Epitome* of Livy was the common Roman history of the day, used by school teachers, writers, rhetoricians and orators. Written possibly in Tiberius' reign, it did not pretend to represent the original Livy, since its author had introduced numerous changes and additions from a variety of sources and subsequent copyists had felt free to do likewise.¹³⁰ In addition the author seems to have written what he or his readers preferred to believe, reshaped his material in rhetorical form and embellished it with striking phrases and expressions.¹³¹ This, it is generally agreed, was the relatively limited and easily obtainable work which Eutropius used as his main source for

¹²⁸Ammianus, 27.5.6. The town did not impress Ammianus.

¹²⁹E.g. Vetrano who, according to Eutropius (10.10) and Victor (*De Caes.* 41.26), had read no literature whatsoever, and even Valens (Ammianus, 31.14.5; 31.14.8). Victor constantly emphasized that those in power needed education and culture and observed that the tetrarchs lacked it (*De Caes.* 39.26).

¹³⁰H.A. Sanders, *Roman Historical Sources and Institutions*, (Ann Arbor, 1904), 200.

¹³¹*Ibid.*, 254.

the regal and republican periods.¹³²

Nevertheless, not all of the material in Eutropius' account of these periods can reliably be traced back to a Livian epitome, however changed it was from the original. For example, Eutropius furnishes data about distances from Rome which are not found in any other extant summary of Roman history.¹³³ Consequently, he may have used at least one additional source.¹³⁴ Yet these data come to an end with the Second Punic War. Now the only source mentioned by Eutropius is Fabius Pictor (3.5), who is cited for the total number of men Rome had ready for action against the Gauls in 225 B.C. Furthermore Eutropius notes, and not gratuitously, that Fabius took part in that war.¹³⁵ Livy also makes use of Pictor when giving numbers.¹³⁶ Pictor was a senator who served in the Second Punic War and wrote a History of Rome from its beginnings to his own times. It was, as Polybius argues, clearly biased in favour of Rome,¹³⁷ and written in Greek, but subsequently adapted into Latin.

Eutropius could, therefore, have used Pictor down to the end of the Second Punic War, but in view of his probable difficulties in obtaining material I find it more likely that he quotes Pictor at second hand, especially as he does not use Pictor's dating for the foundation of Rome (748 B.C.) but that of Varro (753 B.C.). Wagener has argued that Eutropius must have followed an additional source for the sections following the Second Punic War on the basis of material found in the

¹³²C. Wagener, "Eutropius. Jahresberichte." *Philologus* XLV (1886), 510 ff.; W. Pirogoff, *De Eutropii Breviarii Indole ac Fontibus* (Diss. Berlin, 1873), 14 ff. For other studies of Eutropius' sources *vid. Eadie, op. cit.* in note 40, 70.

¹³³Den Boer, *op. cit.*, 120 ff., citing *Brev.* 1.8; 1.15; 1.17; 1.19; 1.20; 2.5; 2.8; 2.12; 3.14.

¹³⁴Wagener, *op. cit.*, 551. He suggests it was used by Florus, Ampelius and the author of the *De Viris Illustribus*.

¹³⁵*Cf. Brev.* 10.16, where Eutropius observes that he took part in Julian's Persian campaign.

¹³⁶E.g. Livy, 1.43; 1.56.

¹³⁷Polybius, 1.14; 1.58; 3.8-9.

Breviarium which ostensibly did not derive from the Epitome.¹³⁸ The identity or existence of this source remains entirely conjectural. Den Boer, however, who maintains that most of the time we do not know where Eutropius obtained his information, asserts that he knew and used Florus' work.¹³⁹ The latter wrote an abridged History of Rome from the Kings to Augustus during Hadrian's reign and relied heavily on an Epitome of Livy.¹⁴⁰ Conversely Wagener believed that both Eutropius and Florus used a common source in addition to the Epitome of Livy.¹⁴¹ Since there is no real evidence for Eutropius' use of Florus, it appears likely that Eutropius used an Epitome of Livy, which differed in parts from that followed by Florus, and that he employed an additional unknown source down to the time of Caesar.

For the imperial period the source problem appears to be simpler. In order to explain the shared errors and close resemblances between Aurelius Victor's *Liber De Caesaribus*, Eutropius' *Breviarium* and sections of the *Historia Augusta* A. Enmann concluded in 1883 that a lost *History of the Emperors (Kaisergeschichte)* down to the reign of Diocletian and a continuation of this work to 357 formed their common source.¹⁴² A subsequent redating of the *Historia Augusta* to the end of the fourth century made it possible to accept that the *Kaisergeschichte* continued to 337 or 357.¹⁴³ Not all scholars accept this view. Den Boer, for example, thinks that the *Kaisergeschichte* was "manufactured in 1874," and Dufraigne rejects it as a phantom work whose existence is

¹³⁸*Loc. cit.*

¹³⁹Den Boer, *op. cit.*, 116; 138.

¹⁴⁰Sanders, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

¹⁴¹Wagener, *op. cit.*, 551.

¹⁴²A. Enmann, "Eine verlorene Geschichte der römischen Kaiser," *Philologus* Suppl. IV (1884), 337-501, published in June, 1883.

¹⁴³T.D. Barnes, *The Sources of the Historia Augusta* (Brussels, 1978), 91 ff., H.W. Bird, "Further Observations on the Dating of Enmann's Kaisergeschichte," *C.Q.* n.s.23 (1973), 375 ff.

nowhere attested.¹⁴⁴ Yet Dufraigne is himself compelled to create phantom sources to explain many of the errors and resemblances between Victor and Eutropius, while den Boer merely offers the common chronological framework of the two works and the shared heritage of rhetorical training, school textbooks and oral tradition to account for the often verbatim parallels of the various fourth century authors.

Nevertheless den Boer is partially correct. All the extant, historical writings of the fourth century have points in common which must have derived from a common store of information about Roman history which each author used according to his needs and objectives.¹⁴⁵ Eutropius, then, appears to have followed the *Kaisergeschichte* as his major and probably only written source for the imperial period down to 337 or 357. He added to this from his recollections, which were sometimes hazy, of other authors he had read, from his general knowledge, personal experiences and discussions with colleagues. He may, for example, have learned of the circumference of Dacia from his administrative duties,¹⁴⁶ and probably knew of the tribes beyond the Lower Danube and the place where Aurelian died from his official travels or while on campaign with Valens.¹⁴⁷ Finally, the three different reasons suggested for Jovian's death seem to stem from discussions with officials who were accompanying the emperor.¹⁴⁸

A subsequent re-dating of the *Historia Augusta* to the end of the fourth century made it possible to accept that the *Kaisergeschichte* continued to 337 or 357. Eutropius' *Breviarium* has been described as "an elegant

¹⁴⁴Den Boer, *op. cit.*, 21 ff.; P. Dufraigne, *Aurelius Victor: Livre des Césars*, Paris, 1975), xxvii.

¹⁴⁵C.E.V. Nixon, *An Historiographical Study of the Caesars of Sextus Aurelius Victor* (diss. Michigan, 1971), 330.

¹⁴⁶*Brev.* 8.2. But it may have been in the *Kaisergeschichte*. Gaul's circumference certainly was: cf. *Brev.* 6.17, Suet. *Caes.* 25.

¹⁴⁷*Brev.* 8.2; 9.15.

¹⁴⁸*Brev.* 10.18.

summary for gentlemen who had not the patience to plough through Livy.¹⁴⁹ This is inaccurate. Such people did exist, as Ammianus informs us,¹⁵⁰ but no reasonably educated gentleman would need to be informed that Athens was a city in Greece.¹⁵¹ In fact, Eutropius' readers seem to have had neither the time nor the ability to read either the *Epitome* of Livy or the *Kaisergeschichte*, the two works which Eutropius essentially summarized. Eutropius, therefore, probably considered that his main task was to simplify, shorten and join into a continuous whole those two available but disconnected works. The former he apparently supplemented from an additional source, the latter from memory and his personal experiences.

Structure and Style

Eutropius certainly computed with care the number of years he would be covering for he is quite precise in his dating of the foundation of Rome, and he concludes his work by twice stating that in the year that Jovian died Rome was one thousand, one hundred and seventeen years old.¹⁵² How was he going to shape that vast period into manageable sections? Livy's monumental history had been divided by copyists into pentads and decads and the *Epitome* of that work, which Eutropius used as a source, would conveniently conform. It seems likely, then, that this served as a structural model. At any rate Eutropius' first book, covering Roman history from the founding of the city to its sack by the Gauls in 390 B.C. corresponds with the first five books of Livy (and his *Epitome*). Livy used fifteen books to cover the period between 390 B.C. and the end of the First Punic War, when victory over the Carthaginians heralded Rome's emergence as a world power. Eutropius condenses this material into his second book. Livy's next decad deals with the Second Punic

¹⁴⁹A.H.M. Jones, *L.R.E.* II, 1010.

¹⁵⁰Ammianus, 15.1.1.

¹⁵¹*Brev.* 5.6. Similarly Eutropius felt he had to explain that Tarentum lay in the furthest part of Italy (2.11), that Argos was a Greek city (2.14), Nola a Campanian city (3.12) and Actium was a place in Epirus (7.7).

¹⁵²*Brev.* 1.1; 10.17; 10.18.

War and ends with the Battle of Zama. Eutropius spends most of book three on this war and also ends with the Battle of Zama. Both authors naturally continue their accounts with descriptions of the Macedonian and Syrian Wars but here Eutropius apparently found the model inconvenient and continued his fourth book down to the Jugurthine War and Rome's early success against the Cimbri and other victories over the Scordisci, Triballi and Lusitani. He was choosing his material carefully here for he makes only a brief mention of the Third Punic War and totally ignores the Gracchi who had so seriously undermined the powers and prerogatives of the senate.

Book Five in the *Breviarium* is significantly shorter than the other nine, each being between six and eight pages long. Commencing with Rome's defeats by and victories over the Teutones and Cimbri, it covers the Social War, the Beginnings of the Civil and Mithridatic Wars and ends with Sulla's success in the Civil War and his triumph over Mithridates. Sulla is the hero of this short and extremely important book, Marius the villain. Its significance to Eutropius is clearly demonstrated in the author's concluding comments. For him it was a series of destructive civil wars which sounded the death knell of the Republic, and for these he held Marius and Caesar chiefly responsible.

Pompey and Caesar are the protagonists of book six, the former serving as hero, the latter as villain. The end of book five is where Pompey is introduced for his successes in Sicily and Africa and his unprecedented triumph at the age of twenty-three. Thereafter much of book six is devoted to his exploits. Caesar is mentioned half-way through and subsequently castigated for starting the momentous civil war through which the whole fortune of the Roman people was changed. Eutropius explains this later. After the conclusion of the war Caesar began to act like a tyrant, contrary to the custom of Roman freedom, and thereby ensured the conspiracy and assassination with which Eutropius neatly concluded book six.

Eutropius followed the precedent of Suetonius (and Tacitus) in ending book seven with another conspiracy and assassination, that of Domitian. This enabled him to commence his next book with the new era ushered in by Nerva and culminating with the death of the last of the Severi, Alexander. That this marked a turning point in Roman history is emphasized by Aurelius Victor and also noted by the author of the

Historia Augusta.¹⁵³ Thus Eutropius was able to begin book nine with the first emperor who was acclaimed solely by the troops, Maximinus. But where was he to conclude this book? Two possibilities lay before him, 1) the ending of the fifty years of chaos when Diocletian became emperor or 2) when Diocletian did the unthinkable and resigned in favour of Galerius and Constantius, Constantine's father. He chose the latter perhaps for two reasons. First, he could thereby honour Diocletian, whom he clearly admired, and second, he could pay particular respect to the founder of the Flavian dynasty and devote most of his final book to its members. Eutropius had, after all, been appointed, promoted and retained by the last two. He could, therefore, have ended with Julian's death in battle and an accompanying eulogy, but for personal and political reasons he added two sections covering Jovian's shameful peace treaty with Persia and his death. This enabled him to make his most passionate and revealing intervention in a passage which was designed to encourage the repudiation of Jovian's treaty.¹⁵⁴ It would certainly have pleased Valens and Eutropius' military readers. But so would his style.

In his preface Eutropius promises his emperor a brief account, and in his concluding sentence he asserts that a full history required a loftier style. In keeping with this his historical survey is compact, with the basic facts set out in a clear, consistent and coherent manner, and written in simple, direct language. The prose is less rapid and rudimentary than that of Festus,¹⁵⁵ but more homogeneous and far less involved and pretentious than that of Aurelius Victor.¹⁵⁶ Unlike Victor, Eutropius does not try to imitate Sallust or Tacitus.¹⁵⁷ In general he avoids lengthy and complex sentences. He also shuns anacolutha, historic infinitives, exceptional word order or excessive compression, in short, anything which might create ambiguity. He occasionally resorts to asyndeton, pleonasm, chiasmus or parallelism of phrases and certainly

¹⁵³*De Caes.* 24.8; *H.A. Alex.* 64.1.

¹⁵⁴*Brev.* 10.17.

¹⁵⁵Eadie, *op. cit.*, 17.

¹⁵⁶Dufraigne, *op. cit.*, LI.

¹⁵⁷Bird, *op. cit.* in note 112, 90 ff.

shows a fondness for participial and ablative absolute constructions, even at the beginning of sentences, occasionally beginning and ending one with the latter.¹⁵⁸ Some words such as *tamen* he overworks, mostly placing it second or third word,¹⁵⁹ though its use perceptibly declines during his discussion of the empire. *Postea* and *post* are similarly overused in the republican books, but are often replaced by *mox* for the imperial period, when it had become a synonym of the other two. One firm indicator of Later Latin usage is the appearance of agent nouns ending in *tor* or *sor*, such as *coercitor* (7.20), *receptor* (9.13), *corrector* (9.13), *affectator* (10.7), *locupletor* (10.15), *insector* and *repressor* (10.16). Many other words of poetic or non-classical provenance, some very late in origin, are also to be found in the *Breviarium*, but practically all of these occur in the chapters dealing with the imperial period.¹⁶⁰ Some of them, therefore, were perhaps borrowed from Eutropius' imperial source, the *Kaisergeschichte*, but clearly those which appear in the preface, the republican section and at the end of chapter ten (10.15 onwards) were Eutropius' own. Only six of the thirty-three collected appear in Aurelius Victor, and the word *purpura* only once, whereas Eutropius uses it five times. One further distinction between the two authors is to be seen in their use of terms denoting power. Victor employs the words *dominatio*, *dominatus* or *dominare* seventeen times, Eutropius not at all. Furthermore, Victor uses *tyrannis* or *tyrannus* ten times, Eutropius once each, and only in a non-technical sense. In addition, Victor employs *regnum* fifteen times to denote supreme power, Eutropius only twice. In contrast Eutropius uses the neutral term *principatus* three times: it is not

¹⁵⁸E.g. *Brev.* 2.14.

¹⁵⁹E.g. *Brev.* 1.9; 1.10; 2.3; 3.2; 4.6; 4.20; 5.3; 6.5; 7.6; 8.13; 9.11; 10.3.

¹⁶⁰E.g. *actarius* (9.9), *aegritudo* referring to the body (9.5), *adprime* (10.16), *barbaria* (8.13), *barbaricum* (7.8; 9.4), *blatinus* (7.14), *crystallinus* (8.13), *dubietas* (6.19), *grandaevus* (8.16; 10.10), *includus* (6.11; 9.27; 10.18), *lavacrum* (8.20; 9.4), *mansuetudo* as a title (preface), *medietas* (2.28), *minax* (8.20), *monetarius* (9.14), *nimietas* (10.17), *proclivis* (10.3), *purpura* as the imperial cloak or power (9.8; 9.9; 9.10; 9.21; 9.24), *putor* (9.18), *remeans* (10.16), *superfluous* (10.8), *tenax* (10.16), *tranquillitas* as a title (preface), *usurpare* meaning to seize unlawfully (9.17), *vehiculum* (9.10; 9.24), and *vespillo* (7.23).

to be found in Victor.¹⁶¹ Clearly the attitudes and aims of the two writers differed substantially, as did their readers, and their styles reveal this. Unlike Victor, Eutropius had no pretensions, and in his final remarks he was being honest, not coy. History in the grand manner cannot be written by diligent and trustworthy functionaries, *stilus virum arguit*.¹⁶²

Chronology

Eutropius' chronology is not always correct or consistent but it is generally effective and quite conventional.¹⁶³ He employs the following methods:

- 1) regal datings, i.e. dates calculated for or from the reigns of the kings;
- 2) a.u.c. datings, i.e. dates calculated from the foundation of Rome;
- 3) consular datings, i.e. dates according to the lists of consuls (*fasti consulares*);
- 4) datings according to the monthly calendar;
- 5) imperial datings, i.e. dates calculated from the commencement of the reigns of the emperors, with their ages when available, given at the end of each reign;
- 6) one dating according to the Olympiads and the destruction of Troy in 1.1.;
- 7) one synchronism (with Alexander the Great) in 2.7;
- 8) one dating calculated from the end of the Second Punic War (4.10);
- 9) one dating calculated from the foundation of Carthage (4.12). In three instances, however, he uses a triple dating method (1.1; 4.10; 10.18) and in several instance he uses double dating (2.15; 4.22; 4.23; 6.6; 6.8; 6.15; 6.16; 8.1; 10.18).

¹⁶¹Bird, *op. cit.* in note 112. Pliny (*Pan.* 45.3) notes that *dominatio* and *principatus* are by nature distinct entities.

¹⁶²For other comments *vid.* E. Malcovati, "I breviani storici del IV secolo," *A.F.L.C.* XXII (1942), 39.

¹⁶³Den Boer, *op. cit.*, 124.

In the first century B.C. the date proposed by the scholar Varro for the founding of Rome, April 21, 753 B.C., became canonical. Eutropius realized that different systems of dating existed,¹⁶⁴ but probably followed his source (not Fabius Pictor, who gave 748) in which Varro's date was used. The importance of the event is emphasized by its triple dating:

- a) XI Kal. Maias (April 21);
- b) the third year of the sixth Olympiad (753 B.C.);
- c) 394 years after the fall of Troy reckoning from 1148 (754/3 B.C.)¹⁶⁵

On only one other occasion in the republican period, the beginning of the Third Punic War (4.10), does Eutropius employ triple dating:

- a) a.u.c.;
- b) consular dating;
- c) number of years reckoned from the end of the Second Punic War.

Here, too, the triple dating probably stems from the importance of the event in Roman history. This may also be the case with many of the double datings, for all refer to significant events. On the other hand many events of equal importance are given only single datings. Furthermore, in the imperial period double datings are rare. Consequently, I am inclined to believe that Eutropius usually followed his sources for his chronology, and only added to them infrequently, e.g. possibly in 8.1. Here both the a.u.c. dating and the consular dating appear. There are two likely reasons for this; first, the significance of the year when the tyranny of Domitian ended and a new era was ushered in by the accession of Nerva, and second, flattery of the Emperor Valens, since one of the consuls of that year was named Valens.

¹⁶⁴As he states in 1.1, for which *vid. den Boer, op. cit.*, 135.

¹⁶⁵The other traditional date for the fall of Troy was 1184/3 established by Eratosthenes. On this problem *vid. F.W. Walbank, A Historical Commentary on Polybius* (Oxford, 1957), 665ff. The Olympic games were probably held in July or August, which would coincide with Eutropius' dating of the foundation of Rome to the third year of sixth Olympiad. For the Varroian system *vid. A.E. Samuel, Greek and Roman Chronology* (Munich, 1972), 250, 251.

Towards the end of book ten, when Eutropius had no written source to follow, he gives monthly and regnal datings for the deaths of Julian and Jovian based upon his own personal knowledge (10.16; 10.18). In addition, he gives two identical, if somewhat differently worded a.u.c. datings for Jovian's peace with Sapor and the emperor's death (10.17; 10.18) based upon his own computation from the date of Rome's foundation (1.1) and, finally, one consular dating for Jovian's death (10.18). This was surely done to balance the conclusion of his work with its beginning and to underline the importance he attributed to Jovian's peace treaty.

There are obvious inaccuracies in Eutropius' chronology. For example, by his computation or by that of his source, the Second Macedonian War broke out in 202 B.C. rather than in 200 B.C. (4.2), and the Third Punic War started in 152/1 or 150/49 B.C. instead of 149 B.C. (4.10). Furthermore, the important treaty with Egypt (2.15) is correctly placed in the consulship of C. Fabius and C. Claudius Canina, i.e. 273 B.C., but the computation a.u.c. 460 would indicate 293 B.C. Similarly (in 2.18) Eutropius correctly dates the outbreak of the First Punic War by the consuls to 264 B.C., but the a.u.c. computation errs by thirteen years.¹⁶⁶ Since Eutropius personally computes the date of Jovian's peace and death and the date of Caesar's death accurately, the errors noted above should probably be ascribed to his source.¹⁶⁷

The Popularity of Eutropius

The *Breviarium* was translated and adapted into Greek first by Paeanius about ten years after its appearance, and again by Capito of Lycia probably early in the sixth century.¹⁶⁸ Over eighty manuscripts survive, eleven of them written before the fifteenth century. A similar number of manuscripts of Festus' *Breviarium* have survived, yet only two of the *De Caesaribus*, written by Eutropius' other contemporary, Aurelius

¹⁶⁶For others *vid.* notes to the text.

¹⁶⁷Cf. den Boer, *op. cit.*, 132-137.

¹⁶⁸E. Malcovati, "Le traduzioni greche di Eutropio," *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere*, 77, (1943-44), 280.

Victor, have come down to us. There are several possible reasons for this. Eutropius covered the whole of Roman History to A.D. 364 whereas Victor's work only dealt with the imperial period. Moreover Eutropius' work, like that of Festus, was straightforward and easy to read, that of Victor somewhat tortuous and interspersed with moralizing interjections. The influence of Eutropius has been discerned in many subsequent writers such as Jerome, the *Epitome De Caesaribus*, the *Historia Augusta*, Ammianus Marcellinus, St. Augustine, Orosius, Cassiodorus, Jordanes, Isidore, Bede and Paul the Deacon. Indeed, it appears that the *Breviarium* became a common textbook in the Middle Ages both in the West and, in its Greek translations, in the Byzantine World. In the later Middle Ages, however, it was generally displaced by the expanded versions and continuations of Paul the Deacon (c. A.D. 800) and Landolfus Sagax (c.1000).¹⁶⁹ The former, from the Benedictine house of Monte Cassino, was summoned to court at Aachen by Charlemagne in 782 to assist in improving the quality and quantity of schooling in the Frankish empire. Paul, an extremely well-educated Lombard, had given his friend Adelperga, the Duchess of Benevento, a copy of Eutropius' *Breviarium* in c.770. She complained that it was too short and contained nothing about Christianity. In response he wrote for her his *Historia Romana*, an expanded account which continued to the fall of the Gothic control of Italy in 552. Although Paul augmented the text of the *Breviarium* with various additions and digressions he still preserved the basic word order and structure of the original so that it is not difficult to separate his material from that of Eutropius. Paul's *Historia Romana*, became popular towards the end of Charlemagne's reign (768-814) and remained so for nearly a thousand years. Nevertheless Eutropius continued to be studied and used as a source for the rest of the Middle Ages by such writers as Peter Damiani in his *Historia Remensis*, Henry of Huntingdon in his *Historia Anglorum* and Vincent de Beauvais in his *Speculum Doctrinae*. In churches, monasteries and private homes in Italy, Germany, France, England and Spain copies of the *Breviarium* survived and were read.¹⁷⁰ It was not until the sixteenth century, however, that

¹⁶⁹The *Historia Miscella* of Landolfus Sagax drew upon Orosius, Jerome, Paul and other sources for its additions.

¹⁷⁰E. Malcovati, *op. cit.* in note 162, 38.

editorial interest in Eutropius was again aroused. Thereafter a number of scholars worked on the text and various editions appeared such as those of Egnatius in Venice in 1516, of Schoonhoven at Basle in 1546 and 1552, with additions by other scholars added in 1559. Another dozen editions appeared between 1564 and 1887, the most recent and important ones being those of Hartel (Berlin, 1872), Droysen (Berlin, 1878), Wagener (Leipzig, 1884) and Ruehl (Leipzig, 1887). Of these Droysen's edition is the most valuable for its philological treatment, but Ruehl's edition is the most widely used.¹⁷¹

The popularity of Eutropius flourished to such an extent that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries student editions of the *Breviarium*, often accompanied by vocabularies and grammatical notes, were employed as school textbooks in Germany, Britain and elsewhere. Even in the early twentieth century extracts from Eutropius continued to appear in elementary Latin texts. More recently, however, interest in Eutropius has waned and his work is mainly used as an ancillary source for Roman republican and imperial history. Nevertheless the *Breviarium* has enjoyed a long and colourful history of its own, and for several hundred years after its composition it played a major role in transmitting knowledge of Rome to later generations.¹⁷²

¹⁷¹Den Boer, *op. cit.*, 170-171. For a complete list *vid.* C. Santini, *Eutropius: Breviarium ab urbe condita* (Leipzig, 1979), XVII.

¹⁷²For the manuscript tradition *vid.* Santini, *op. cit.*, V-XVI.

AN ABBREVIATED HISTORY OF ROME FROM ITS BEGINNING

Preface

In keeping with the wish of your Clemency I have gathered in a brief narrative, in chronological sequence, the conspicuous achievements of the Romans, whether in war or in peace. I have also concisely added those topics which appeared exceptional in the lives of the emperors, so that your Serenity's divine mind may rejoice that it has followed the actions of illustrious men before it learned of them from reading.

BOOK ONE

- 1 The Roman Empire (than which human memory can recall scarcely any smaller in origin or greater in its growth throughout the whole world) derives its origin from Romulus, the son of Rhea Silvia, a Vestal Virgin, and, as was believed, of Mars. He was brought forth in one birth with his brother Remus. While leading the life of a robber among the shepherds, at the age of eighteen he founded a small city on the Palatine Hill on the 21st of April, in the third year of the sixth Olympiad, in the three hundred and ninety-fourth year after the destruction of Troy, according to those who give the earliest and latest dates.¹
- 2 After establishing the city, which he called Rome after his own name, this is roughly what he did. He took a large number of the neighbouring people into the city, chose a hundred of the older men, through whose advice he might manage everything, and he named them senators on account of their age.² Then, since both he and his people did not have wives, he invited the tribes adjoining the city of Rome to an exhibition of games and seized their unmarried girls. Since wars broke out on account of the outrage he had committed against the girls who had been seized he conquered the Caeninenses, the Antemnates, the Crustumini, the Sabines, the Fidenates and the Veientes.³ All these towns encircle the city. And since he had failed to appear after a storm had suddenly arisen, in the thirty-seventh year of his reign he was believed to have passed over to the gods and was deified.⁴ Then the senators ruled at Rome for five days each and under their government a year was completed.⁵
- 3 Subsequently Numa Pompilius was made king. He waged no war, indeed, but was no less beneficial to the state than Romulus. For he established both laws and customs among the Romans who, because of their habitual warfare, were by now considered robbers and semi-barbarians. He also divided the year into ten months, whereas it had previously been confused without any system of computation, and he founded numerous rites and temples at Rome. He died of an illness in the forty-third year of his reign.⁶
- 4 Tullus Hostilius succeeded him. He renewed the wars, conquered the Albani, who are twelve miles from the city of Rome, overcame in war the Fidenates and the Veientes, of whom the former are six miles from the city of Rome, the latter eighteen, and increased the

- size of the city by adding the Caelian hill. When he had ruled thirty-two years he was struck by lightning and burned together with his house.⁷
- 5 After him Ancus Marcius, the grandson of Numa by his daughter, took power. He fought against the Latins, added the Aventine and Janiculan hills to the city and founded a city on the seacoast at the mouth of the Tiber sixteen miles from the city of Rome. He perished of an illness in the twenty-fourth year of his reign.⁸
- 6 Then Priscus Tarquinius took over the kingdom. He doubled the number of senators, built a circus at Rome and instituted the Roman games which continue to our times. Furthermore, he conquered the Sabines and added a considerable amount of land, which he took from the same people, to the territory of Rome, and he was the first to enter the city in triumph. He constructed the wall and sewers and made a start on the Capitol. In the thirty-eighth year of his reign he was killed by the sons of Ancus, the king whom he himself had succeeded.⁹
- 7 After him Servius Tullius took power, the child of a noblewoman who was nevertheless a captive and handmaiden. He also subdued the Sabines, added three hills to the city, the Quirinal, the Viminal and the Esquiline, and dug ditches around the city walls. He was the first of all to organize a census which till that time had been unknown throughout the world. Under him, when all had been subjected to the census, Rome contained eighty-three thousand citizens including those who lived in the country. He was killed by the crime of his son-in-law, Tarquinius Superbus, the son of that king whom he had succeeded, and his own daughter, whom Tarquinius had married.¹⁰
- 8 L. Tarquinius Superbus, the seventh and last of the kings, conquered the Volsci, a people living not far from the city on the way to Campania, subdued the state of Gabii and Suessa Pometia, made peace with the Etruscans and built the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol. Afterwards, while attacking Ardea, a city situated eighteen miles from Rome, he lost his power. For when his son, who was called Tarquinius the Younger, had violated Lucretia, a most noble and chaste woman, the wife of Collatinus, and she had complained about the injury to her husband, father and friends, she killed herself in the sight of all. For this reason Brutus, who was himself a relative of Tarquinius, incited the people and deprived Tarquinius of

power. Subsequently the army, too, which was besieging the city of Ardea with that very king, deserted him. The king, on arriving at Rome, found the gates closed against him and, after ruling twenty-four years, fled with his wife and children. Thus Rome was ruled by seven kings for two hundred and forty-three years, while as yet the city, at its greatest extent, scarcely extended to the fifteenth milestone.¹¹

- 9 Hereafter the consuls came into being. Instead of one king two consuls were elected for this reason, that if one should be disposed to be unjust, the other, having equal power, would control him. Moreover, it was decided that they should not hold office for longer than a year in order that they might not be rendered too arrogant by possessing power for too long, but should always be civic-minded since they would realize that after a year they would again become private citizens.¹² In the first year, therefore, after the expulsion of the kings, Lucius Junius Brutus, who had done most to have Tarquinius expelled, and Tarquinius Collatinus, husband of Lucretia, were the consuls. But the dignity of office was straightway taken from Tarquinius Collatinus, for it had been decided that no one who was named Tarquinius should remain in the city. Consequently, after collecting all his personal property, he left the city and in his place L. Valerius Publicola was made consul.¹³ Nevertheless, King Tarquinius, who had been expelled, provoked a war against the city of Rome and, after gathering together troops from many nations, he fought in order to be restored to his kingdom.
- 10 In the first battle Brutus, the consul, and Arruns, the son of Tarquinius, killed each other; the Romans, however, left the battle victorious.¹⁴ For a year the Roman matrons mourned for Brutus, the defender of their honour, as if he had been their common father. Valerius Publicola made Spurius Lucretius Tricipitinus, the father of Lucretia, his colleague and when he died of a disease Publicola then chose Horatius Pulvillus as his colleague. Thus the first year had five consuls, since Tarquinius Collatinus had left the city because of his name, Brutus had perished in battle, and Spurius Lucretius had died of a disease.
- 11 In the second year, too, Tarquinius again made war on the Romans in order to recover his kingdom and almost captured Rome with the help of Porsenna, King of Tuscany.¹⁵ But on that occasion he was also defeated. In the third year after the expulsion of the kings

Tarquinius, since he could not regain his kingdom and Porsenna, who had made peace with the Romans, would not help him, retired to Tusculum, a city which is not far from Rome, and there, for fourteen years he lived and grew old as a private person, together with his wife.¹⁶ In the fourth year after the expulsion of the kings, when the Sabines had made war on the Romans, they were defeated and a triumph was celebrated over them.¹⁷ In the fifth year that Lucius Valerius, who had been the colleague of Brutus and four times consul, died a natural death in such extreme poverty that he had the expenses of his funeral paid for by a public collection. The matrons mourned for him for a year, as they had for Brutus.¹⁸

- 12 In the ninth year after the expulsion of the kings, when the son-in-law of Tarquinius had collected a huge army to avenge the wrong done to his father-in-law, a new office was instituted at Rome, which was called the dictatorship, one more powerful than the consulship. In addition, in the same year a master of horse was appointed as the dictator's subordinate. Nor can anything be considered more similar to the imperial authority which your Serenity now possesses than the ancient dictatorship, especially since Augustus Octavian too, about whom we shall speak later, and before him Gaius Caesar, ruled with the title and rank of the dictatorship. The first dictator at Rome, however, was (T.) Larcus, the first master of horse, Spurius Cassius.¹⁹
- 13 In the sixteenth year after the expulsion of the kings the people of Rome rebelled on the grounds that they were being oppressed by the senate and consuls. On that occasion also they appointed for themselves tribunes of the people as their own particular judges and defenders, by whom they might be protected against the senate and consuls.²⁰
- 14 In the following year the Volsci resumed their war against the Romans and, after being defeated in battle, lost Corioli, too, the best city that they had.
- 15 In the eighteenth year after the kings had been banished Quintus Marcius, the Roman general who had captured Corioli, a city of the Volsci, was expelled from Rome and, in anger, went over to those very Volsci and received help against the Romans. He frequently defeated the Romans, reached the fifth milestone from city and, after rejecting envoys who came to seek peace, would even have attacked his native land if his mother, Veturia, and his wife, Volumnia, had

not come out of the city. Overcome by their tears and prayers he withdrew his army. Indeed, he was the second after Tarquinius to lead an army against his native land.²¹

- 16 In the consulship of Gaius Fabius and Lucius Virginius three hundred noblemen, who were of the Fabian family, undertook a war by themselves against the Veientes, promising the senate and people that they would conclude the whole contest by themselves. Accordingly all of these nobles who, individually, might have commanded a large army, marched out and fell in battle. Only one survived out of so large a family, who, on account of his extreme youth, could not be taken into battle.²² After this a census was held in the city and the number of citizens was found to be a hundred and seventeen thousand, three hundred and nineteen.²³
- 17 In the following year, since the Roman army was being blockaded on Mount Algidus, about twelve miles from the city, Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus, who worked with his own hands the four iugera of land which he possessed, was appointed dictator. He, after he had been found at work ploughing, wiped away the sweat, accepted the toga praetexta, destroyed the enemy and freed the army.²⁴
- 18 In the three hundred and second year from the founding of the city the consular rule ceased and instead of two consuls, ten (men) called the *decemviri* were appointed to hold the supreme power. But, although they had behaved well in the first year, in the second one of them, Appius Claudius, determined to violate the unmarried daughter of a certain Virginius who was then honourably performing his military service against the Latins on Mount Algidus. Her father killed her, so that she might not be disgraced by the *decemviri*, returned to the soldiers and raised an insurrection. Power was taken from the *decemviri* and they themselves were condemned.²⁵
- 19 In the three hundred and fifteenth year from the founding of the city the Fidenates rebelled against the Romans. The Veientes and the king of the Veientes, Tolumnius, provided them with assistance. Both of these states are so close to the city that Fidenae is (only) six miles away, Veii eighteen. The Volsci also joined them. But they were defeated by Mamercus Aemilius, the dictator, and Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus, the master of horse, and even lost their king. Fidenae was captured and destroyed.²⁶
- 20 After twenty years the Veientes renewed the war. Furius Camillus

was sent as dictator against them and he first defeated them in battle and subsequently, after an extended siege, captured their city, the oldest and wealthiest of Italy. After that he also captured Falisci, a city no less famous. But ill-will was stirred up against him on the grounds that he had unfairly divided the booty, and he was condemned for that reason and banished from the state.²⁷ Immediately (afterwards) the Gallic Senones came up to the city in pursuit of the Romans, whom they had defeated at the eleventh milestone from Rome by the River Allia, and they even occupied the city. Nor could any part of it be defended except the Capitol. When the Gauls had besieged it for a long time and the Romans were suffering from famine, the Gauls were surprised by Camillus, who was in exile in a neighbouring city, and heavily defeated. Subsequently, however, they accepted gold to raise their siege of the Capitol and withdrew, but Camillus pursued them and slaughtered them so thoroughly that he recovered both the gold which had been given to them and all the military standards which they had captured.²⁸ Thus, for a third time he entered the city in triumph and was hailed as a second Romulus, as if he, too, had been a founder of his native land.²⁹

BOOK TWO

- 1 In the three hundred and sixty-fifth year after the foundation of the city, but in the first after its capture, the high offices of state were changed and, in place of the two consuls, military tribunes with consular power were created. Hereafter the Roman state began to grow. For example, in that year Camillus conquered the state of the Volsci, which had waged war for seventy years, and the cities of the Aequi and Sutri and, after destroying all their armies, occupied them and celebrated three triumphs simultaneously.¹
- 2 In addition, Titus Quintius Cincinnatus pursued the Praenestini, who had brought the war to the very gates of the city of Rome, to the River Allia and defeated them. He annexed to the Romans eight cities which were under their control, attacked Praeneste itself and accepted its surrender. All of these exploits were accomplished by him within twenty days and a triumph was decreed him.²
- 3 But the office of the military tribunes did not last long, for after a while it was decided that none should be appointed and four years

went by in the city without there being any senior magistracies there. Nevertheless, the military tribunes with consular power resumed their office and continued for three years. (Then) consuls were again elected.³

- 4 In the consulship of Lucius Genucius and Quintus Servilius, Camillus died. He was honoured second after Romulus.⁴

- 5 Titus Quintius was sent out as dictator against the Gauls who had come into Italy. They had camped at the fourth milestone from the city across the River Anio. There the noblest of the senators, the young Lucius Manlius, met in single combat a Gaul, who had thrown down a challenge, killed him, took a gold chain from him and put it round his own neck, and received the *cognomen* Torquatus for himself and his posterity for ever more. The Gauls were put to flight and subsequently were also defeated by the dictator, Gaius Sulpicius. Not longer afterwards they were defeated by Gaius Marcius Tuscus and eight thousand of them were led as captives in the triumph.⁵

- 6 A census was again taken, and since the Latins, who had been subdued by the Romans, refused to provide soldiers, recruits were levied from among the Romans alone and ten legions were raised. This measure produced upwards of sixty thousand men under arms. Although the resources of the Romans were still small, their military strength was nevertheless very great. When these troops had marched out under the leadership of Lucius Furius against the Gauls⁶, one of the Gauls challenged whichever one was best among the Romans. Then Marcus Valerius, a military tribune, offered himself and, when he had come forward in full armour, a crow (*corvus*) settled on his right arm. Subsequently, when he had begun to fight against the Gaul, the same crow attacked the Gaul's eyes with its wings and talons so that he could not see properly. Thus he was killed by the tribune Valerius and not only gave him the victory, but also a name, for afterwards Valerius was called Corvinus. And because of this service he was made consul at the age of twenty-three.⁷

- 7 The Latins, who had refused to supply soldiers, began to demand this, too, from the Romans, that one consul should be chosen from them, the other from the Romans. When this had been rejected war was undertaken against them and in a huge battle they were overcome and a triumph was celebrated for their defeat. Statues

were erected on the Rostra for the consuls on account of their service in obtaining the victory. In that year, too, Alexandria was founded by Alexander the Macedonian.⁸

- 8 Now the Romans began to be powerful, for a war was being waged about a hundred and thirty miles from the city in the territory of the Samnites who are situated between Picenum, Campania and Apulia. Lucius Papirius Cursor set out for that war with the rank of dictator. When he had returned to Rome, he ordered Quintus Fabius Maximus, the master of horse, whom he had left with the army, not to fight in his absence. The latter, however, finding a suitable opportunity, fought very successfully and destroyed the Samnites. For this he was condemned to death by the dictator because he had given battle contrary to Papirius' orders, but he was released by the overwhelming support of the soldiers and populace, and so great a mutiny was stirred up against Papirius that he himself was almost killed.⁹
- 9 Afterwards, in the consulship of Titus Veturius and Spurius Postumius, the Samnites inflicted an extraordinarily shameful defeat on the Romans and sent them under the yoke.¹⁰ The peace, however, which had been made with them through necessity, was annulled by the senate and people. Afterwards the Samnites were defeated by Lucius Papirius the consul, and seven thousand of them were sent under the yoke. Papirius celebrated a triumph over the Samnites.¹¹ At that time Appius Claudius, the censor, built the Claudian aqueduct and constructed the Appian Way.¹² The Samnites renewed the war, defeated Quintus Fabius Maximus and killed three thousand men. Afterwards, when his father Fabius Maximus had become his legate, he both defeated the Samnites and captured most of their towns.¹³ Next Publius Cornelius Rufinus and Manius Curius Dentatus, both consuls, were sent against the Samnites and reduced them after momentous battles. Then they brought to an end the war with the Samnites which had lasted for forty-nine years. Nor was there any enemy within Italy who taxed Roman courage more.¹⁴
- 10 After an interval of a few years the forces of the Gauls joined the Etruscans and the Samnites against the Romans but, while they were marching on Rome, they were destroyed by Gnaeus Cornelius Dolabella, the consul.¹⁵
- 11 At the same time war was declared against the Tarentines, who even now live in the most remote part of Italy, because they had done

harm to the Roman envoys.¹⁶ These people requested help against the Romans from Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who used to trace his origin from the family of Achilles. He subsequently came to Italy and then, for the first time, the Romans fought with an enemy from across the seas. The consul Publius Valerius Laevinus was sent against him and he, when he had captured some spies of Pyrrhus, ordered them to be led through the camp, shown the whole army and then dismissed so that they might report to Pyrrhus what was being done by the Romans. Subsequently a battle was fought and Pyrrhus was on the point of fleeing when he prevailed with the help of his elephants which terrified the Romans who had not encountered them before. But night put an end to the fighting. Laevinus, however, fled during the night and Pyrrhus captured one thousand eight hundred Romans, treated them with the utmost honour, and buried the slain. When he had viewed these, lying dead with their wounds in front and still with stern countenances, he is said to have raised his hands to heaven and exclaimed that he might have been master of the whole world if such soldiers had been available to him.

- 12 Afterwards Pyrrhus, having combined with the Samnites, Lucanians and Bruttii, advanced on Rome, ravaged everything with fire and sword, laid waste Campania and reached Praeneste, eighteen miles from the city of Rome. Subsequently, through fear of the army which was pursuing him with the consul, he retreated into Campania.¹⁷ The envoys sent to Pyrrhus for the ransoming of prisoners-of-war were received honourably by him: the prisoners-of-war he sent to Rome without payment. One of the Roman envoys, Fabricius, he so admired, on learning that he was poor, that he desired to win him over to his side by promising a quarter of his kingdom, but he was spurned by Fabricius. Therefore, since Pyrrhus was seized with great admiration for the Romans, he sent an eminent man, Cineas by name, as an envoy to seek peace on reasonable terms provided that he, Pyrrhus, should retain that part of Italy which he had already occupied by force of arms.¹⁸
- 13 The peace proved unsatisfactory: word was sent back to Pyrrhus by the senate that he could not have peace with the Romans unless he left Italy. Then the Romans ordered that all the prisoners, whom Pyrrhus had returned, should be considered disgraced, because they had allowed themselves to be captured while under arms, and that

they should not revert to their former status until they had each brought back the spoils of two slain enemies. Thus the envoy of Pyrrhus returned. When Pyrrhus asked him what sort of place he had found Rome to be, Cineas said he had seen a country of kings; certainly almost all men there were such as Pyrrhus alone was thought to be in Epirus and the rest of Greece. The consuls Publius Sulpicius and Decius Mus were sent as generals against Pyrrhus. When the battle had been joined Pyrrhus was wounded, his elephants killed, twenty thousand of the enemy were cut down, and of the Romans only five thousand. Pyrrhus fled to Tarentum.¹⁹

- 14 After an interval of a year Fabricius, who previously, when one of the envoys, could not be won over by the promise of a quarter of Pyrrhus' kingdom, was sent against him. Then, since he and the king had camps close to each other, Pyrrhus' doctor came to him by night, promising that he would kill Pyrrhus by poison if he were offered something in return. Fabricius ordered that he should be led back in chains to his master and that Pyrrhus should be told what his doctor had promised against his life. Then the king, in admiration of him, is reported to have said: "Fabricius is the kind of man whom it is more difficult to turn from the path of honour than it is to turn the sun from its course."²⁰ Then the king set out for Sicily.²¹ Fabricius, after defeating the Lucanians and the Samnites, celebrated a triumph. Thereafter the consuls Manius Curius Dentatus and Curius Lentulus were sent against Pyrrhus. Curius fought against him, destroyed his army, drove him back to Tarentum and captured his camp. On that day twenty-three thousand of the enemy were cut down. Curius celebrated a triumph in his consulship. He was the first to bring elephants, four in number, to Rome. Pyrrhus subsequently fled from Tarentum, too, and was killed at Argos, a Greek city.²²
- 15 In the consulship of Gaius Fabius Licinius and Gaius Claudius Canina, in the four hundred and sixty-first year since the founding of the city, ambassadors sent by Ptolemy from Alexandria came to Rome and obtained from the Romans a treaty of friendship, which they had sought.²³
- 16 In the consulship of Quintus Ogulnius and Gaius Fabius Pictor the Picentes started a war and were defeated by the succeeding consuls Publius Sempronius and Appius Claudius and a triumph was celebrated over them.²⁴ The cities of Ariminum in Gaul and

Beneventum in Samnium were founded by the Romans.²⁵

- 17 In the consulship of Marcus Atilius Regulus and Lucius Julius Libo, war was declared on the Salentini in Apulia, the Brundisians and their city were captured and a triumph was celebrated over them.²⁶
- 18 In the four hundred and seventy-seventh year, although the name of the city of Rome was already famous, its arms had nevertheless not been carried outside of Italy. In order that it might be ascertained, therefore, what the forces of the Romans were, a census was held. The number of citizens was then found to be two hundred and ninety-two thousand, three hundred and thirty-four, although from the founding of the city wars had never ceased.²⁷ And for the first time a war was undertaken against the Africans in the consulship of Appius Claudius and Quintus Fulvius. A battle was fought against them in Sicily and Appius Claudius celebrated a triumph over the Africans and Hiero, the king of Sicily.²⁸
- 19 The following year, in the consulship of Valerius Marcus and Otacilius Crassus, great exploits were performed by the Romans in Sicily. The Tauromenitani, Catinenses, and a further fifty cities were accepted in alliance. In the third year the war in Sicily against Hiero, king of the Sicilians, was resolved. Together with all the nobility of the Syracusans he obtained peace from the Romans and gave them two hundred talents of silver.²⁹ The Africans were defeated in Sicily and for a second time a triumph was celebrated over them at Rome.³⁰
- 20 In the fifth year of the Punic War, which was waged against the Africans, in the consulship of Gaius Duillius and Gnaeus Cornelius Asina, the Romans fought for the first time at sea, after building beaked warships, which they call Liburnians.³¹ The consul Cornelius was deceived by treachery.³² Duillius joined battle and defeated the commander of the Carthaginians, captured thirty-one of their ships, sank fourteen, captured seven thousand of the enemy and killed three thousand. No victory was more gratifying to the Romans because they had been invincible by land and were also now supremely powerful at sea.³³ In the consulship of Gaius Aquilius Florus and Lucius Scipio, Scipio laid waste Corsica and Sardinia, carried off from there many thousand captives and celebrated a triumph.³⁴
- 21 In the consulship of Lucius Manlius Vulso and Marcus Atilius

Regulus the war was carried across to Africa. A battle was fought at sea against Hamilcar, the Carthaginian commander, and he was defeated, for when he had lost sixty-four ships he retreated. The Romans lost twenty-two ships.³⁵ But when they had crossed into Africa they accepted the surrender of Clypea, the first city in Africa [which they reached].³⁶ The consuls marched right up to Carthage, laid waste many areas, and Manlius returned to Rome as victor and brought back twenty-seven thousand prisoners [while] Atilius Regulus remained in Africa. He drew up his battle line against the Africans and fought victoriously against three Carthaginian generals, killed eighteen thousand of the enemy, captured five thousand together with eighteen elephants and received seventy-four cities in alliance. Then the defeated Carthaginians sought peace from the Romans.³⁷ Since Regulus was unwilling to grant it, except on the harshest conditions,³⁸ the Africans sought help from the Lacedaemonians, and through the leadership of Xanthippus, who had been sent by the Lacedaemonians, Regulus, the Romans' general, was defeated with disastrous losses. For only two thousand men from the whole Roman army escaped, five hundred were captured with their commander, Regulus, thirty thousand were killed and Regulus himself was thrown into chains.³⁹

- 22 In the consulship of Marcus Aemilius Paulus and Servius Fulvius Nobilior both Roman consuls set out for Africa with a fleet of three hundred ships. They first overcame the Africans in a naval engagement. Aemilius the consul sank a hundred and four enemy ships, captured thirty together with their marines, either killed or captured fifteen thousand of the enemy and enriched his soldiers with enormous plunder.⁴⁰ And Africa would then have been subdued except that so great a famine occurred that the army was unable to remain any longer. The consuls, returning with their victorious fleet, suffered a shipwreck off Sicily, and the storm was so severe that out of four hundred and sixty-four ships eighty could be saved, nor was so great a storm at sea heard of at any time.⁴¹ Nonetheless, the Romans immediately refitted two hundred ships and no one's spirit was broken by these losses.⁴²
- 23 Gnaeus Servilius Caepio and Gaius Sempronius Blaesus, the consuls, set out for Africa with two hundred and sixty ships and captured several cities. Returning with enormous booty they suffered a shipwreck.⁴³ Therefore, since the continual disasters annoyed the

- Romans, the senate decreed that they should give up fighting at sea and only sixty ships⁴⁴ should be kept for the defence of Italy.
- 24 In the consulship of Lucius Caecilius Metellus and Gaius Furius Placidus⁴⁵, Metellus, in Sicily, overcame the general of the Africans who came against him with a hundred and thirty elephants and substantial forces, cut down twenty thousand of the enemy, captured twenty-six elephants, collected the rest, which were wandering among the Numidians, whom he had as allies, and brought them to Rome in a huge procession, since the elephants, a hundred and thirty in number, filled all the roads.⁴⁶ After these setbacks the Carthaginians requested the general Regulus, whom they had captured, to set out for Rome and obtain peace from the Romans and bring about an exchange of prisoners.
- 25 He, when he had come to Rome and had been brought into the senate, did not act like a Roman and said that from that day on which he had fallen into the hands of the Africans, he had ceased to be a Roman. Therefore he refused his wife's embrace and persuaded the senate that peace should not be made with the Carthaginians, for they had been crushed by so many disasters and had no hope (remaining); he himself was not so important that so many thousand prisoners should be returned just for him, one old man, and the few Romans who had been captured. And so he got his way, for no one received the Africans who were seeking peace. He himself returned to Carthage and, when the Romans offered to detain him at Rome, he said that after he had become a servant to the Africans he would not remain in that city in which he could not possess the dignity of an honourable citizen. Consequently he returned to Africa and was put to death with all kinds of torture.⁴⁷
- 26 In the consulship of Publius Claudius Pulcher and Lucius Junius, Claudius fought contrary to (the advice of) the auspices and was defeated by the Carthaginians. For out of two hundred and twenty ships he escaped with thirty, ninety were captured with their marines, the rest were sunk. The other consul, too, lost his fleet by shipwreck, nevertheless he retained his army intact because the shore was nearby.⁴⁸
- 27 In the consulship of Gaius Lutatius Catulus and Aulus Postumius Albinus, in the twenty-third year of the Punic War, the war against the Africans was carried on by Catulus. With three hundred ships he set out for Sicily; the Africans fitted out four hundred against

him. Never had such large forces fought at sea. Lutatius Catulus was sick when he embarked, for he had been wounded in the previous battle. The Romans fought with great courage against Lilybaeum, a Sicilian city. For sixty-three Carthaginian ships were captured, a hundred and twenty-five sunk, thirty-two thousand of the enemy were captured, thirteen thousand killed and a vast sum of gold, silver and booty came into the Romans' possession. Of the Roman fleet twelve ships were sunk. The battle was fought on the tenth of March.⁴⁹ The Carthaginians immediately sought peace and peace was granted to them. The Romans prisoners who were held by the Carthaginians were returned. In addition, the Carthaginians asked that they should be allowed to redeem those African prisoners whom the Romans held. The senate ordered that those who were prisoners of the state should be given back without ransom; those, however, who were held by private individuals should be returned to Carthage when a recompense had been paid to their masters and that recompense should be paid from the public treasury rather than by the Carthaginians.⁵⁰

- 28 Quintus Lutatius and Aulus Manlius were elected consuls. They waged war against the Falisci who once formed a wealthy state in Italy. Both consuls concluded this war within six days of their arrival, slew fifteen thousand of the enemy and granted peace to the rest, but half of their land was taken from them.⁵¹

BOOK THREE

- 1 Therefore, when the Punic War, which had gone on for twenty-three years, had finished, the Romans, who were by now renowned for their outstanding glory, sent envoys to Ptolemy, the King of Egypt, because Antiochus, the King of Syria, had made war on him. He thanked the Romans, but did not accept help from them, for the fighting had already been brought to an end.¹ At the same time Hiero, the most powerful King of Sicily, came to Rome to watch the games and presented two hundred thousand modii of wheat to the people as a gift.²
- 2 In the consulship of Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Fulvius Flaccus, when Hiero had come to Rome, a war was also waged against the Ligurians within Italy and a triumph was celebrated over them.³ The Carthaginians, however, were attempting to renew the war by

inciting the Sardinians, who by the terms of the peace were bound to submit to the Romans, to rebel. Nevertheless a deputation of Carthaginians came to Rome and obtained peace.⁴

- 3 In the consulship of Titus Manlius Torquatus and Gaius Atilius Bulbus a triumph was celebrated over the Sardinians and, as peace had been achieved everywhere, the Romans had no war, which had only happened once since the founding of Rome, in the reign of Numa Pompilius.⁵
- 4 Lucius Postumius Albinus and Gnaeus Fulvius Centumalus the consuls waged war against the Illyrians and, after capturing many cities, even received the surrender of their kings. And then for the first time a triumph was celebrated over the Illyrians.⁶
- 5 In the consulship of Lucius Aemilius huge forces of Gauls crossed the Alps, but the whole of Italy united with the Romans and it was reported by the historian Fabius, who participated in the war, that eight hundred thousand men were furnished for that war. But the matter was successfully concluded by the consul alone. Forty thousand of the enemy were killed and a triumph was decreed to Aemilius.⁷
- 6 Thereafter, a few years later, a battle was fought with the Gauls inside Italy and the war ended in the consulship of Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio. On the occasion Marcellus fought in company with a small band of cavalry and with his own hand slew the King of the Gauls, Viridomarus by name. Afterwards, with his colleague, he utterly destroyed huge forces of Gauls, stormed Milan and carried off enormous booty to Rome. At his triumph Marcellus carried on his shoulders attached to a pole the spoils of a Gaul.⁸
- 7 In the consulship of Marcus Minucius Rufus and Publius Cornelius war was made on the Istrians because they had plundered some ships of the Romans, which were delivering grain, and they were all totally subdued.⁹ In the same year the Second Punic War was begun against the Romans by Hannibal, the general of the Carthaginians who, at the age of nineteen, proceeded to besiege Saguntum, a Spanish city allied to Rome, after he had gathered a hundred and fifty thousand troops. The Romans warned him, through envoys, to abstain from hostilities. He refused to receive the envoys. The Romans also sent (demands) to Carthage that Hannibal should be ordered not to make war against allies of the Roman people. The

responses made by the Carthaginians were uncompromising. The Saguntines, meanwhile, were overcome by famine, captured by Hannibal and suffered the ultimate punishment.¹⁰

- 8 Then Publius Cornelius Scipio set out with an army for Spain, Tiberius Sempronius for Sicily. War was declared against the Carthaginians. Hannibal, leaving his brother Hasdrubal in Spain, crossed the Pyrenees and opened up for himself a way over the Alps which were still at that time and in that area without roads.¹¹ He is said to have brought into Italy eighty thousand infantry, ten thousand cavalry and thirty-seven elephants.¹² Meanwhile many Ligurians and Gauls joined Hannibal.¹³ Sempronius Gracchus, learning of Hannibal's arrival in Italy, transported his army from Sicily to Ariminum.
- 9 Publius Cornelius Scipio was the first to meet Hannibal. After the battle had been joined and his troops put to flight he himself returned to camp wounded.¹⁴ Sempronius Gracchus also engaged him at the River Trebia, and he, too, was defeated.¹⁵ Many surrendered to Hannibal in Italy. Coming from there to Tuscany Hannibal met the consul Flaminius. He killed Flaminius, slaughtered twenty-five thousand Romans and the rest scattered.¹⁶ Afterwards Quintus Fabius Maximus was sent against Hannibal by the Romans. He, by avoiding battle, checked Hannibal's momentum and subsequently found an opportunity to defeat him.¹⁷
- 10 In the five hundred and fortieth year since the founding of the city¹⁸ Lucius Aemilius Paulus and Publius Terentius Varro were sent against Hannibal and succeeded Fabius, who warned both consuls that they would not defeat Hannibal, a shrewd and impatient general, in any other way than by avoiding battle. However, when a battle took place at a village which is called Cannae in Apulia, because of the impatience of the consul Varro, although the other consul, that is Aemilius Paulus, opposed it, both consuls were defeated by Hannibal. In that battle three thousand Africans perished and a great part of Hannibal's army was wounded. Nevertheless in none of the Punic Wars did the Romans suffer more severely, for there the consul Aemilius Paulus perished and twenty former consuls or praetors, thirty senators, three hundred noblemen, forty thousand infantry and three thousand five hundred cavalry were captured or killed.¹⁹ During these calamities, however, none of the Romans deigned to mention peace.²⁰ (Even) slaves were freed and made

- soldiers, which had never happened before.²¹
- 11 After that battle many Italian cities, which had been subject to the Romans, went over to Hannibal.²² Hannibal offered to allow the Romans to redeem their prisoners, but the senate replied that they had no need of citizens who could be captured while they were still armed.²³ He afterwards executed all of them in different ways and sent to Carthage three *modii* of gold rings²⁴ which he had taken from the fingers of Roman knights, senators and soldiers. Meanwhile Hasdrubal, Hannibal's brother, who had remained in Spain with a large army in order to subject the whole of that country to the Africans, was defeated by the two Scipios, the Roman generals. He lost thirty-five thousand men in battle, of whom ten thousand were captured and twenty-five thousand killed.²⁵ To restore his forces twelve thousand infantry, four thousand cavalry and twenty elephants were sent to him by the Carthaginians.
 - 12 In the fourth year after Hannibal had arrived in Italy, the consul Marcus Claudius Marcellus fought successfully against Hannibal at Nola, a city in Campania. Hannibal occupied many Roman cities throughout Apulia, Calabria and Bruttium.²⁶ At that time, too, Philip, the King of Macedonia, sent envoys to him, promising help against the Romans on condition that when the Romans had been destroyed he would also receive help from Hannibal against the Greeks. Consequently, when the envoys of Philip had been captured and the matter disclosed,²⁷ the Romans ordered Marcus Valerius Laevinus to go to Macedonia and Titus Manlius Torquatus to go as proconsul to Sardinia, for even that (province), after being solicited by Hannibal, had deserted the Romans.²⁸
 - 13 Thus the war was being fought at the same time in four different places: in Italy against Hannibal, in the Spains against his brother, Hasdrubal, in Macedonia against Philip, in Sardinia against the Sardinians and the other Carthaginian Hasdrubal. The latter was captured alive by the proconsul, Titus Manlius, who had been sent to Sardinia: twelve thousand of the men with him were killed, fifteen hundred were captured and Sardinia was subdued by the Romans.²⁹ The victorious Manlius took the captives and Hasdrubal back to Rome. Meanwhile Philip, too, was defeated by Laevinus in Macedon³⁰ and in Spain Hasdrubal and Mago, a third brother of Hannibal, were defeated by the Scipios.³¹
 - 14 In the tenth year after Hannibal had arrived in Italy, in the

consulship of Publius Sulpicius and Gnaeus Fulvius, Hannibal advanced to the fourth milestone from Rome, his cavalry up to the very gates. Subsequently, through fear of the consuls who were approaching with an army, Hannibal retreated into Campania.³² In Spain both Scipios, who had been victorious for many years, were killed by Hannibal's brother Hasdrubal; their army, however, remained intact for they had been entrapped by chance rather than by (the enemy's) courage.³³ At this time, too, a great part of Sicily, which the Africans had begun to control, was captured by the consul Marcellus, and a vast amount of booty was brought to Rome from that most celebrated city, Syracuse.³⁴ In Macedonia Laevinus made a treaty of friendship with Philip, many of the Greek peoples and with Attalus, King of Asia and, after proceeding to Sicily, captured a certain Hanno, general of the Africans, at the city of Agrigentum, together with the city itself. He sent him, together with other noble prisoners, to Rome, accepted the surrender of forty city states and took twenty-six by storm. Thus, when the while of Sicily had been recovered and Macedonia broken, he returned to Rome with great glory.³⁵ Hannibal in Italy suddenly attacked and killed the consul Gnaeus Fulvius and eight thousand men.³⁶

- 15 Meanwhile Publius Cornelius Scipio (the son of the Publius Scipio who had fought in that very place), a twenty-four year old who was virtually the foremost of all the Romans both of his own age and of previous times, was sent to Spain, where there had been no Roman general since the two Scipios had been killed. He captured Spanish Carthage, where the Africans kept all their gold, silver and military equipment, and, in addition, some hostages of the highest rank, whom they had received from the Spaniards. He also captured in the same place Mago, the brother of Hannibal, whom he sent with others to Rome. After this announcement there was great rejoicing at Rome. Scipio restored the Spanish hostages to their parents, consequently almost all the Spaniards unanimously went over to him. After this he defeated and routed Hasdrubal, Hannibal's brother, and captured an enormous amount of booty.³⁷
- 16 Meanwhile, in Italy the consul Quintus Fabius Maximus recovered Tarentum, where there were vast numbers of Hannibal's troops. There he also killed Carthalo, Hannibal's general, sold twenty-five thousand prisoners, distributed the booty among his soldiers and brought back to the treasury the money from the sale of the

prisoners.³⁸ Then many of the Roman cities, which had previously gone over to Hannibal, gave themselves up again to Fabius Maximus. In the following year Scipio accomplished outstanding exploits in Spain and both through him and through his brother, Lucius Scipio, the Romans recovered seventy cities.³⁹ In Italy, however, the fighting went badly, for the consul Claudius Marcellus was killed by Hannibal.⁴⁰

- 17 In the third year after Scipio had set out for the Spains he again performed distinguished exploits. He received in alliance a King of the Spains whom he had defeated in a great battle, and was the first of all not to demand hostages from a defeated foe.⁴¹
- 18 Hannibal, despairing that the Spains could be retained any longer against Scipio, summoned his brother Hasdrubal with all his forces to Italy. He, following the same route by which Hannibal had also travelled, fell into an ambush laid by the consuls Appius Claudius Nero and Marcus Livius Salinator at Sena, a city of Picenum. Fighting vigorously he nevertheless died. His huge forces were either captured or killed and a large amount of gold and silver was brought back to Rome. After this Hannibal then began to despair of the outcome of the war.⁴² The Romans were vastly encouraged, and so they, too, recalled Publius Cornelius Scipio from Spain. He arrived at Rome with great glory.⁴³
- 19 In the consulship of Quintus Caecilius and Lucius Valerius all the cities which were held by Hannibal in Bruttium surrendered to the Romans.
- 20 In the fourteenth year after Hannibal had entered Italy, Scipio, who had achieved many successes in Spain, was made consul and sent to Africa. In this man there was considered to be something divine, so much so that he was even thought to hold conversations with the deities.⁴⁴ He fought in Africa against Hanno, general of the Africans, and destroyed his army.⁴⁵ In the second battle he captured the enemy's camp, together with four thousand five hundred soldiers, and he killed eleven thousand.⁴⁶ He captured Syphax, King of Numidia, who had joined the Africans, and invaded his camp.⁴⁷ Syphax, with the noblest Numidians and vast spoils were sent to Rome by Scipio. When this news was heard almost the whole of Italy deserted Hannibal. He himself was ordered by the Carthaginians to return to Africa, which Scipio was ravaging.⁴⁸
- 21 Thus, in the seventeenth year Italy was delivered from Hannibal.

Envoys of the Carthaginians sought peace from Scipio. They were sent by him to the senate at Rome. A truce was granted them for forty-five days so that they might go to Rome and return, and thirty-thousand pounds of silver were received from them. On the advice of Scipio the senate ordered peace to be made with the Carthaginians. Scipio granted it on these conditions: that they should not retain more than thirty ships, that they should pay five hundred thousand pounds of silver and restore all prisoners and deserters.⁴⁹

- 22 Meanwhile the peace was disturbed by Hannibal's arrival in Africa and many hostilities were committed by the Africans.⁵⁰ Nevertheless their envoys, who were captured by the Romans while returning from Rome, were freed on Scipio's orders. Hannibal, too, defeated in frequent battles, even sought peace personally from Scipio.⁵¹ When a conference had been held, it was granted on the same conditions as before, although a hundred thousand pounds of silver were added to the five hundred thousand pounds on account of their recent treachery. The conditions displeased the Carthaginians and they ordered Hannibal to fight⁵² The war was carried on against Carthage by Scipio and Masinissa, another King of Numidia, who had made an alliance with Scipio. Hannibal sent three scouts to Scipio's camp, whom Scipio captured and ordered to be led around the camp and shown his whole army and subsequently to be given lunch and dismissed, so that they might report to Hannibal what they had seen among the Romans.
- 23 Meanwhile preparations were made by each general for a battle such as scarcely anyone could remember, since they were the most accomplished men ever to lead forces to war. Scipio came off the victor, after nearly capturing Hannibal himself, who escaped at first with many cavalry, then with twenty, finally with four. Twenty thousand pounds of silver, eighty of gold and other items in abundance were found in Hannibal's camp. After that struggle peace was made with the Carthaginians. Scipio returned to Rome, celebrated a triumph with great glory and began to be called Africanus from then onwards. The Second Punic War ended eighteen years after it had begun.⁵³

- 1 After the Punic War had terminated the Macedonian War against Philip followed in the five hundred and fifty-first year after the founding of the city.¹
- 2 Titus Quintius Flaminius was successful against Philip. Peace was granted to him on these conditions: that he should not make war on the states of Greece which the Romans had defended against him, that he should restore the prisoners and deserters, he should retain only fifty ships, the rest he should give to the Romans, over ten years he should provide four thousand pounds of silver and he should give his own son Demetrius as a hostage.² Titus Quintius also waged war against the Lacedaemonians. He defeated their general, Nabis, and accepted them in alliance on terms which he determined. With great pride he led before his chariot the noblest hostages, Demetrius, the son of Philip, and Armenes, the son of Nabis.³
- 3 When the Macedonian War had terminated the Syrian War followed against King Antiochus in the consulship of Publius Cornelius Scipio and Manius Acilius Glabrio. Hannibal had joined this Antiochus, abandoning Carthage, his native land, in fear that he might be handed over to the Romans. Manius Acilius Glabrio fought successfully in Greece. The camp of King Antiochus was captured in a night battle and he himself was put to flight. Demetrius, his son, was restored to Philip because he had been of help to the Romans against Antiochus.⁴
- 4 In the consulship of Lucius Cornelius Scipio and Gaius Laelius, Scipio Africanus, legate to his brother Lucius Cornelius Scipio the consul, set out against Antiochus. Hannibal, who was with Antiochus, was defeated in a naval battle.⁵ Antiochus himself, subsequently, was routed in a tremendous battle around Sipylus near Magnesia, a city in Asia, by the consul Cornelius Scipio. The brother of King Attalus, Eumenes, who founded Eumonia in Phrygia, assisted the Romans. Fifty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry were killed on the king's side in that battle.⁶ Then the king sought peace. It was granted by the senate on the same conditions as had been offered before, even though he had been defeated: that he should withdraw from Europe and Asia and confine himself within the Taurus mountains, that he should give up ten thousand talents and twenty hostages and hand over Hannibal, the instigator of the war. All the city states of Asia, which Antiochus

had lost in the war, were given by the senate to King Eumenes, and many cities were granted to the Rhodians who had brought help to the Romans against King Antiochus.⁷ Scipio returned to Rome and celebrated a triumph with great glory. He, too, in imitation of his brother, received the name (title) Asiaticus, because he had conquered Asia, just as his brother was called Africanus for subjugating Africa.⁸

- 5 In the consulship of Spurius Postumius Albinus and Quintus Marcius Philippus, Marcus Fulvius triumphed over the Aetolians.⁹ Hannibal, who had fled to Prusias, King of Bithynia, when Antiochus had been defeated, so that he might not be handed over to the Romans, was also demanded from Prusias by Titus Quintius Flamininus, and since he was to be handed over, he drank poison and was buried at Libyssa in the territory of the Nicomedians.¹⁰
- 6 When Philip, King of Macedonia, who had both waged war against the Romans and afterwards had helped the Romans against Antiochus, had died, his son, Perseus, levied great forces for war and rebelled in Macedonia, for he had as allies Cotys, King of Thrace, and the King of Illyricum, named Gentius. The Romans, however, had as allies Eumenes, King of Asia, Ariaratus of Cappadocia, Antiochus of Syria, Ptolemy of Egypt and Masinissa of Numidia.¹¹ Prusias of Bithynia, however, although he was married to the sister of Perseus, remained neutral. Publius Licinius, the consul, was sent against him as general of the Romans and was defeated by the king in a serious engagement. Nevertheless the Romans, although beaten, were unwilling to grant peace to the king when he sought it except on the following conditions: that he should surrender himself and his men to the Roman senate and people.¹² Subsequently the consul Lucius Aemilius Paulus was sent against him and the praetor Gaius Anicius was sent to Illyricum against Gentius. But Gentius, easily defeated in one battle, soon surrendered. His mother, wife, two sons and his brother, also, fell into the hands of the Romans at the same time. Thus the war was terminated within thirty days and news of Gentius' defeat arrived before it was announced that the war had begun.¹³
- 7 The consul Aemilius Paulus, however, fought with Perseus on the third of September and defeated him, killing twenty thousand of his infantry: the cavalry fled intact with the king. A hundred of the Roman soldiers were lost. All the cities of Macedonia, which the

king had held, gave themselves up to the Romans. The king himself, since he was deserted by his friends, fell into the hand of Paulus, but Aemilius Paulus, the consul, treated him with honour, not as a defeated foe, for he did not allow the other to fall at his knees, even though he wanted to do so, and placed him on a seat beside him. These were the terms granted to the Macedonians and Illyrians by the Romans: that they should be free and pay half of the tribute which they had paid to the kings, so that it might appear that the Roman people fought for equity rather than because of greed. And so at an assembly of countless people Paulus proclaimed this, and he entertained the ambassadors of many states who had come to him at a most magnificent banquet, saying that it ought to be characteristic of the same man both to be victorious in war and to be elegant in his provision of a banquet.¹⁴

- 8 Subsequently he captured seventy cities of Epirus which were rebelling and distributed the booty to his soldiers. He returned to Rome amid great pomp in a ship of Perseus, which is reported to have been of extraordinary size, such that it is said to have had sixteen ranks of oars. He celebrated his triumph, however, most magnificently in a golden chariot with his two sons standing on either side of him. The two sons of the king and Perseus himself, forty-five years old, were led before his chariot. After him Anicius also celebrated a triumph over the Illyrians. Gentius was led before his chariot, with his brother and sons. For this spectacle the kings of many nations came to Rome, among others even Attalus and Eumenes, the kings of Asia, and Prusias of Bithynia. They were received with great honour and, with the permission of the senate, placed the gifts which they had brought on the Capitol. Prusias even entrusted his son Nicomedes to the senate.¹⁵
- 9 In the following year Lucius Mummius fought well in Lusitania. Marcellus the consul afterwards achieved success in the same place.¹⁶
- 10 Thereafter a third war was undertaken against Carthage, in the six hundred and second year after the founding of the city, in the consulship of Lucius Manlius Censorinus and Manius Manilius, in the fifty-first year after the Second Punic War had been concluded. These set out to attack Carthage. Hasdrubal, general of the Carthaginians, fought against them. Famea, another general, commanded the Carthaginian cavalry. On that occasion Scipio, the

grandson of Scipio Africanus, fought there as a tribune. Everyone feared and respected him greatly, for he was considered both very well-equipped for war and very experienced. Therefore through him the consuls achieved many successes, nor did either Hasdrubal or Famea avoid anything more than to join battle against that division of the Romans where Scipio was fighting.¹⁷

- 11 In the same period Masinissa, King of the Numidians, an ally of the Roman people for nearly sixty years, died in the ninety-seventh year of his life, leaving forty-four sons. He appointed Scipio to divide his kingdom among his sons.¹⁸
- 12 Accordingly, since the name of Scipio was famous, he was made consul while still a young man and sent against Carthage. He captured and razed it. Spoils were found there which Carthage had collected from the destruction of various cities, and he restored the civic ornaments to those cities of Sicily, Italy and Africa which recognized their own. Thus Carthage, in the seventh hundredth year after its foundation, was destroyed. Scipio earned the title which his grandfather had received so that, evidently on account of his courage, he, too, was called Africanus Junior.¹⁹
- 13 Meanwhile in Macedonia a certain Pseudo-Philip took up arms and defeated with terrible slaughter the Roman praetor, Publius Iuventius, who had been sent against him. After him Quintus Caecilius Metellus was sent out as general by the Romans against the Pseudo-Philip and he killed twenty-five thousand of his men, recovered Macedonia and even took the Pseudo-Philip prisoner.²⁰
- 14 War was also declared on Corinth, the noblest of the Greek cities, because of an injury against the Romans' envoys. The consul Mummius captured and destroyed it. Consequently there were three very famous triumphs at Rome at the same time: of Africanus for Africa, before whose chariot Hasdrubal was led, of Metellus for Macedonia, before whose chariot Andriscus walked, the same man who was also called Pseudo-Philip, and of Mummius for Corinth, before whom bronze statues, pictures and other ornaments of that most famous city were carried.²¹
- 15 Again in Macedonia a Pseudo-Perseus, who said he was the son of Perseus, collected slaves and rebelled, and, although he had sixteen thousand armed men, he was conquered by the quaestor Tremellius.²²
- 16 At the same time Metellus had outstanding success against the

Spaniards in Celtiberia. Quintus Pompeius succeeded him. Not long afterwards Quintus Caepio was also sent to the same war, which a certain Viriathus was waging against the Romans in Lusitania. Through fear of him Viriathus was killed by his own men when he had stirred the Spains against the Romans for fourteen years. He was at first a shepherd, subsequently leader of bandits, and finally incited so many people to war that he was regarded as the defender of Spain against the Romans. And when his assassins sought a reward from the consul, Caepio, he replied that the Romans were never pleased when generals were killed by their own soldiers.²³

- 17 Next, the consul Quintus Pompeius was overcome by the Numantines, the wealthiest state in Spain, and made a shameful peace. After him the consul Gaius Hostilius Mancinus again made a dishonourable peace with the Numantines. The people and senate ordered that it should be broken and Mancinus himself handed over to the enemy, so that they might avenge themselves for the outrage of the broken treaty on the man with whom they had made the treaty.²⁴ Consequently, after such a great disgrace, whereby Roman armies had twice been marched under the yoke by the Numantines, Publius Scipio Africanus was made consul for a second time and sent to Numantia. He first reformed the dissolute, cowardly soldiery rather by training than by punishment and without any severity, then he took many Spanish cities, some by capture, others by receiving their surrender, finally he reduced Numantia itself by famine after a long siege, razed it to the ground, and received the rest of the province into alliance.²⁵
- 18 At the same time Attalus, King of Asia, the brother of Eumenes, died and left the Roman people as his heir. Thus Asia was added to the Roman Empire by will.²⁶
- 19 Subsequently Decimus Junius Brutus also celebrated a triumph with great glory over the Galicians and Lusitanians²⁷ and Publius Scipio Africanus held a second triumph, this over the Numantines, in the fourteenth year after he had held his previous one for Africa.²⁸
- 20 Meanwhile a war was started in Asia by Aristonicus, son of Eumenes, who had been borne by a concubine. This Eumenes had been the brother of Attalus. Publius Licinius Crassus was sent against him and had the unlimited assistance of the kings, for both Nicomedes, King of Bithynia, helped the Romans, and Mithridates

of Pontus, with whom afterwards there was an extremely serious war, and Ariarathes of Cappadocia and Pylaemenes of Paphlagonia. Crassus, however, was defeated and killed in battle. His head was brought to Aristonicus, his body was buried at Smyrna. Afterwards Perperna, the Roman consul, who was coming as Crassus' successor, hearing of the outcome of the war, rushed to Asia, defeated Aristonicus in battle at the city of Stratoniceia, to which he had fled, and compelled his surrender by famine. Aristonicus was strangled in prison at Rome by order of the senate, for a triumph over him could not be celebrated because Perperna had died at Pergamum while returning to Rome.²⁹

- 21 In the consulship of Lucius Caecilius Metellus and Titus Quintus Flaminius Carthage in Africa, which still exists, was rebuilt by order of the senate, twenty-two years after it had been destroyed by Scipio. Roman citizens were sent there.³⁰
- 22 In the six hundred and twenty-seventh year after the founding of the city the consuls Gaius Cassius Longinus and Sextus Domitius Calvinus waged war on the Transalpine Gauls and the most famous city of the Arverni at that time, and their king Bituitus, and killed a vast multitude near the River Rhône. A huge booty from the collars of the Gauls was brought to Rome. Bituitus surrendered to Domitius and was taken by him to Rome, and both consuls celebrated a triumph with great glory.³¹
- 23 In the consulship of Marcus Porcius Cato and Quintus Marcius Rex, in the six hundred and thirty-third year after the founding of the city a colony was established at Narbo in Gaul, and in the following year a triumph was celebrated over Dalmatia by the consuls Lucius Caecilius Metellus and Quintus Mucius Scaevola.³²
- 24 In the six hundred and thirty-fifth year after the founding of the city Gaius Cato the consul waged war against the Scordisci and fought ignominiously.³³
- 25 In the consulship of Gaius Caecilius Metellus and Gnaeus Carbo, the two Metelli brothers held a triumph on the same day, the one for Sardinia, the other for Thrace, and it was reported at Rome that the Cimbri had crossed from Gaul into Italy.³⁴
- 26 In the consulship of Publius Scipio Nasica and Lucius Calpurnius Bestia, war was made upon Jugurtha, King of Numidia, because he had murdered Adherbal and Hiempsal, the sons of Micipsa, his own brothers, who were kings and allies of the Roman people. The

consul Calpurnius Bestia, who was sent out against him, was corrupted by the king's money and made a most disgraceful peace with him, which was repudiated by the senate. Afterwards, in the following year, Spurius Postumius Albinus set out against him. He, too, through his brother, fought ignominiously against the Numidians.³⁵

- 27 The consul Quintus Caecilius Metellus was the third to be sent. He restored Roman discipline to the army, correcting it with great severity and control, although he did nothing cruel to anyone. He defeated Jugurtha in various battles, killed or captured his elephants and captured many of his cities. However, just when he was about to put an end to the war, he was succeeded by Gaius Marius. He at the same time overcame Jugurtha and Bocchus, King of Mauretania, who had begun to bring help to Jugurtha. He, too, captured several towns in Numidia and put an end to the war by capturing Jugurtha through his quaestor, Cornelius Sulla, a great man, when Bocchus handed over Jugurtha although he had previously fought for him. The Cimbri were defeated in Gaul by Marcus Junius Silanus, the colleague of Quintus Metellus, as were the Scordisci and Triballi in Macedonia by Minucius Rufus and the Lusitanians in Spain by Servilius Caepio. Two triumphs were held over Jugurtha, the first by Metellus, the second by Marius. It was before the chariot of Marius, however, that Jugurtha was led in chains with his two sons and subsequently, at the command of the consul, he was strangled in prison.³⁶

BOOK FIVE

- 1 While the war was being fought in Numidia against Jugurtha, the Roman consuls Marcus Manlius and Quintus Caepio were defeated near the Rive Rhône by the Cimbri, Teutones, Tigurini and Ambrones, which were German and Gallic tribes, and after great slaughter they even lost their camp and a large part of their army.¹ The consternation at Rome was great, such as was scarcely felt in the Punic War against Hannibal, lest the Gauls should again come upon Rome. Therefore Marius, after his victory over Jugurtha, was made consul a second time and the war against the Cimbri and Teutones was committed to him. The consulship was conferred on him for a third time, too, and for a fourth time, because the Cimbric

- war was being protracted. But in his fourth consulship he had as his colleague Quintus Lutatius Catulus.² Consequently he engaged the Cimbri and in two battles he cut down two hundred thousand of the enemy, captured eighty thousand and their king, Teutobodus, for which service, although he was absent, he was made consul for a fifth time.³
- 2 Meanwhile the Cimbri and Teutones, whose forces were still innumerable, crossed over into Italy. Again they were met in battle by Gaius Marius and Quintus Catulus, but more successfully in the case of Catulus, for in the battle, which both undertook simultaneously, a hundred and forty thousand were killed either in the fighting or in flight, and sixty thousand were captured. Three hundred Roman soldiers from both armies perished. Thirty-three standards were taken from the Cimbri; of these the army of Marius carried off two, the army of Catulus thirty-one. That was the end of the war; a triumph was decreed to both men.⁴
 - 3 In the consulship of Sextus Julius Caesar and Lucius Marcius Philippus in the six hundred and fifty-ninth year after the founding of the city, when almost all other wars were over, in Italy the Picentes, Marsi and Peligni provoked a most serious war. Although they had already obeyed the Roman people for very many years, they then began to demand political equality for themselves.⁵ This was an altogether destructive war. Publius Rutilius the consul was killed in it, and Caepio, a young man of the nobility, and Porcius Cato, the other consul. The generals, however, for the Picentes and Marsi against the Romans were Titus Vettius, Hierius Asinius, Titus Herennius and Aulus Cluentius. The Romans fought well against them under Gaius Maurius, who had been consul six times, and under Gnaeus Pompey, but especially under Lucius Cornelius Sulla, who, among other outstanding exploits, so utterly routed Cluentius, general of the enemy, together with his large forces, that he lost only one of his own men. This war, however, was protracted for four years with serious disasters. Finally, in the fifth year, it was concluded by the consul Lucius Cornelius Sulla, although previously in the same war he had performed many exploits energetically, but as praetor.⁶
 - 4 In the six hundred and sixty-second year after the founding of the city the first civil war was incited at Rome, and in the same year, too, the Mithridatic War. Gaius Marius, who had been consul six

times, caused the Civil War, for while the consul Sulla was being sent to conduct the war against Mithridates, who had occupied Asia and Achaea, and he (Sulla) was retaining his army in Campania for a little while in order that the last vestiges of the Social War, about which we have spoken, which was being fought within Italy, might be extinguished, Marius strove to have himself sent to the Mithridatic War. Incensed by this Sulla marched into the city with his army. There he fought against Marius and Sulpicius. He was the first to enter the city of Rome under arms and he killed Sulpicius, put Marius to flight and thus, after appointing Gnaeus Octavius and Lucius Cornelius Cinna as consuls for the following year, he set out for Asia.⁷

- 5 For Mithridates, who was King of Pontus and possessed Armenia Minor and the entire circuit of the Pontic Sea with the Bosphorus, first wished to expel from Bithynia Nicomedes, an ally of the Roman people, and informed the senate that he was going to make war upon him on account of the injuries which he had suffered. The senate's response to Mithridates was that if he did so, he himself would endure war with the Romans. Angered by this he immediately invaded Cappadocia and drove out of there Ariobarzanes, the king and an ally of the Roman people. Subsequently he even invaded Bithynia and Paphlagonia, expelling from them their kings, Pylaemenes and Nicomedes, allies of the Roman people. Then he marched on Ephesus and sent letters throughout all of Asia to the effect that wherever Roman citizens were found, they should be killed on the same day.⁸

- 6 Meanwhile even Athens, a city of Achaea, was handed over to Mithridates by Aristion the Athenian, for Mithridates had already sent to Achaea Archelaus, his general, with a hundred and twenty thousand cavalry and infantry, through whom the rest of Greece was also occupied.⁹ Sulla besieged Archelaus at the Piraeus, not far from Athens, and captured Athens itself.¹⁰ Afterwards, when he had engaged Archelaus in battle, he defeated him so soundly that out of a hundred and twenty thousand soldiers scarcely ten thousand remained to Archelaus while out of Sulla's army only thirteen men were killed. Mithridates, after learning about this battle, sent seventy thousand picked troops out of Asia to Archelaus and Sulla fought another battle against them. In the first engagement fifteen thousand of the enemy were killed together with Diogenes, the son

of Archelaus. In the second engagement all the forces of Mithridates were destroyed and Archelaus himself lay hidden naked in the marshes for three days. When he heard of this Mithridates gave orders that peace should be negotiated with Sulla.¹¹

- 7 Meanwhile at that same time Sulla also defeated some of the Dardanians, Scordisci, Dalmatians and Maedi, and accepted the others in alliance¹² But, when the envoys from King Mithridates, who were seeking peace, had arrived, Sulla replied that he would not grant it on other terms than that the king should abandon those lands which he had occupied and withdraw to his own kingdom. Afterwards, however, both came to a conference. Peace was arranged between them so that Sulla, who was in haste to return to the Civil War, might not have danger in his rear.¹³ For, while Sulla was defeating Mithridates in Achaea and Asia, Marius, who had been forced to flee, and Cornelius Cinna, one of the consuls, renewed the war in Italy and, after entering the city of Rome, killed the noblest of the senate and men of consular rank, proscribed many, even destroyed Sulla's house and compelled his sons and wife to flee. The rest of the senate as a whole fled the city and came to Sulla in Greece, begging that he should come to the aid of his country.¹⁴ He crossed over into Italy to conduct the Civil War against the consuls Norbanus and Scipio. And indeed, in the first battle against Norbanus he fought not far from Capua. On that occasion he killed six thousand of the other's men, captured six thousand, and lost a hundred and twenty-four of his own. Then he also turned on Scipio and, before that battle, received the whole of Scipio's army in surrender without bloodshed.¹⁵

- 8 However, when the consuls at Rome had changed and Marius, the son of Marius, and Papirius Carbo had received the consulship, Sulla fought against the younger Marius, killed fifteen thousand of his men and lost four hundred of his own. Subsequently he even entered the city. He pursued Marius, the son of Marius, to Praeneste, besieged him there and forced him to commit suicide.¹⁶ Once more he fought a very serious battle against Lamponius and Carinates, generals of the Marian side, near the Colline Gate. It is said that there were seventy thousand of the enemy in that battle against Sulla. Twelve thousand surrendered to Sulla, the rest were annihilated in the fighting in their camp or in flight because of the insatiable rage of the victors.¹⁷ Gnaeus Carbo, too, the other consul,

fled from Ariminum to Sicily and was killed there by Gnaeus Pompey, whom Sulla had put in charge of his armies, recognizing his zeal though he was a young man of only twenty-one years of age, so that he was considered second (only) to Sulla.¹⁸

- 9 When Carbo had been killed, therefore, Pompey recovered Sicily. After he had crossed from there to Africa, he killed Domitius, a general on the Marian side, and Hierda, King of Mauretania, who was assisting Domitius. After these events Sulla celebrated a triumph over Mithridates with great glory. Even Gnaeus Pompey celebrated a triumph for Africa while in his twenty-fourth year, something which had been granted to no (other) Roman.¹⁹ This was the end of the two most destructive wars, the Italian, which was also called the Social War, and the Civil War, which together lasted for ten years. Indeed they consumed over a hundred and fifty thousand men, twenty-four ex-consuls, seven ex-praetors, sixty former aediles and almost two hundred senators.²⁰

BOOK SIX

- 1 In the consulship of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Quintus Catulus, when Sulla had pacified the state,¹ new wars broke out, one on Spain, another in Pamphylia and Cilicia, a third in Macedonia, a fourth in Dalmatia. For Sertorius, who had been a supporter of Marius, fearing the fate of the others who had been slain, incited the Spains to war. Quintus Caecilius Metellus, son of the Metellus who had defeated Jugurtha, and Lucius Domitius the praetor were sent against him as generals. Domitius was killed by Hirtuleius, the general of Sertorius. Metellus fought against Sertorius with varied success. Afterwards, since Metellus was considered unequal to the struggle alone, Gnaeus Pompey was sent to the Spains. Consequently, with two generals opposing him, Sertorius often fought with varied fortune. Finally, in the eighth year he was killed by his own men and that war was ended by Gnaeus Pompey, who was still a young man, and Quintus Metellus Pius, and almost all the Spains were brought under the dominion of the Roman people.²
- 2 Appius Claudius was sent to Macedonia after his consulship. He had minor skirmishes against various tribes which inhabited the province of Rhodope, and there he died of an illness.³ Gaius Scribonius Curio, after his consulship, was sent to succeed him. He

- defeated the Dardani, penetrated as far as the Danube and earned a triumph by putting an end to the war within three years.⁴
- 3 The former consul Publius Servilius, an energetic man, was sent to Cilicia and Pamphylia. He subdued Cilicia, stormed and captured the most eminent cities of Lycia, among them Phaselis, Olympus and Corycus in Cilicia. He also attacked and reduced to submission the Isauri and within three years put an end to the war. He was the first of all Romans to march over Mount Taurus. On his return he received a triumph and earned the title Isauricus.⁵
 - 4 The proconsul Gaius Consconius was sent to Illyricum. He subdued a large part of Dalmatia, captured Salonae, ended the war and returned to Rome after two years.⁶
 - 5 At the same period the consul, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, the colleague of Catulus, endeavoured to stir up a civil war, but within one summer his movement was crushed.⁷ Thus at one time there were many triumphs held simultaneously, that of Metellus for Spain, a second one over Spain for Pompey, that of Curio for Macedonia and that of Servilius for Isauria.
 - 6 In the six hundred and seventy-sixth year after the founding of the city, in the consulship of Lucius Licinius Lucullus and Marcus Aurelius Cotta, Nicomedes, the King of Bithynia, died and in his will he made the Roman people his heir. Mithridates broke the peace and again endeavoured to invade Bithynia and Asia.⁸ Both the consuls were sent against him and had various fortunes. Cotta, defeated by him in battle near Chalcedon, was even forced into the town and besieged. But when Mithridates had marched from there to Cyzicus in order that he might invade the whole of Asia after capturing Cyzicus, the other consul, Lucullus, met him and, while Mithridates was delaying at the siege of Cyzicus, besieged him from the rear and wore him down with famine, defeated him in many battles and finally drove him to Byzantium, which is now Constantinople. In a naval battle, too, Lucullus crushed his commanders. Thus, in one winter and summer nearly a hundred thousand troops of the king were destroyed.⁹
 - 7 In the six hundred and seventy-eighth year of the city of Rome Marcus Licinius Lucullus, the cousin of that Lucullus who had waged war against Mithridates, accepted Macedonia as a province.¹⁰ In addition, a new war was suddenly incited in Italy, for seventy-four gladiators, under the leadership of Spartacus, Crixus and

Oenomaus, broke out of the school at Capua and fled and, wandering through Italy, instigated a war almost as serious as that which Hannibal had set in motion. For, after defeating many generals and two consuls of the Romans at the same time, they collected an army of almost sixty thousand armed men, but they were defeated in Apulia by the proconsul Marcus Licinius Crassus and, after many disasters had happened to Italy, this war was concluded in its third year.¹¹

- 8 In the six hundred and eighty-first year after the founding of the city, in the consulship of Publius Cornelius Lentulus and Gnaeus Aufidius Orestes¹², there were only two serious wars in the Roman Empire, the Mithridatic and the Macedonian. These the two Luculli directed, Lucius Lucullus and Marcus Lucullus. Accordingly Lucius Lucullus, after the battle at Cyzicus, in which he had defeated Mithridates, and the naval battle, in which he had crushed the other's generals, pursued him and recovered Paphlagonia and Bithynia and even invaded his kingdom and captured Sinope and Amisos, the most eminent cities of Pontus. In the second battle near the city of Cabera, to which Mithridates had brought huge forces from his whole kingdom, when thirty thousand picked troops of the king had been cut to pieces by five thousand of the Romans, Mithridates was put to flight and his camp plundered. Armenia Minor, too, which he had held, was taken from him. Nevertheless, Mithridates was received after his flight by Tigranes, the King of Armenia, who was at that time ruling with great glory, had often defeated the Persians and had occupied Mesopotamia and Syria and part of Phoenicia.

- 9 Accordingly Lucullus, still pursuing his routed enemy, even attacked the kingdom of Tigranes, who was ruling the Armenians. He captured Tigranocerta, the city of Arzanena, the most celebrated of the Armenian kingdom, and so thoroughly defeated the king himself who came with seven thousand five hundred armoured cavalry and a hundred thousand archers and armed men, though he had only eighteen thousand soldiers, that he destroyed a great part of the Armenians. After marching from there to Nisibis he also captured that city together with the King's brother. But those whom Lucullus had left in Pontus with part of his army, to defend the regions which had been conquered and were now controlled by the Romans, by behaving negligently and greedily, again gave Mithridates the

opportunity to break into Pontus and so the war was renewed. While Lucullus was preparing an expedition against the Persians, after he had captured Nisibis, a successor was sent (to replace him).¹³

- 10 The other Lucullus, however, who was administering Macedonia, was the first of the Romans to wage war against the Bessi and he overcame them in a huge battle on Mount Haemus. He conquered Uscudama, which the Bessi inhabited, on the same day on which he attacked it, captured Cabyle and penetrated as far as the Danube. He then attacked many cities situated above the Black Sea. There he destroyed Apollonia, captured Callatis, Parthenopolis, Tomi, Hister, and Burziaonis and, after ending the war, returned to Rome.¹⁴ Both, however, celebrated triumphs: Lucullus, who had fought against Mithridates, with greater glory since he had returned victorious over such powerful kingdoms.
- 11 When the Macedonian War was ended but the Mithridatic was continuing, since, on the departure of Lucullus, the king had gathered military support and renewed the war, the Cretan War broke out. Quintus Caecilius Metellus was sent to it and, by a series of great battles, captured the whole province within three years and was acclaimed Creticus and held a triumph over the island.¹⁵ At that time Libya, too, was added to the Roman Empire through the will of Appion, who had been its king. In it were the famous cities of Berenice, Ptolemais and Cyrene.¹⁶
- 12 While these things were going on pirates were infesting all the seas to such an extent that only navigation was unsafe for the Romans who were victorious throughout the whole world. Consequently that war was decreed to Gnaeus Pompey. He put an end to it within a few months with great success and great speed.¹⁷ Subsequently the war against King Mithridates and Tigranes was also entrusted to him. After undertaking this he defeated Mithridates in a night battle in Armenia Minor, plundered his camp and killed forty thousand of his men while losing only twenty of his own army and two centurions. Mithridates fled with his wife and two companions. Not long afterwards, since he was venting his rage on his own family, through a revolt among the soldiers stirred up by his own son, Pharnaces, he was forced to commit suicide and took poison. This was the end of Mithridates. He died, however, near the Bosphorus, a man of great energy and resolution. He reigned sixty

years, lived seventy-two, and continued his war against the Romans for forty years.

- 13 Thereafter Pompey made war on Tigranes. He came to Pompey's camp sixteen miles from Artaxata, gave himself up to him and, when he had prostrated himself at Pompey's knees, placed his diadem in Pompey's hands. Pompey returned it to him, treated him honourably, but forced him to give up a part of his kingdom and a large sum of money. Syria, Phoenice and Sophene were taken from him and six thousand talents of silver in addition, which he had to give to the Roman people because he had started a war against the Romans without cause.¹⁸
- 14 Pompey subsequently waged war against the Albani, too, and defeated their king, Orodes, three times; finally, after being begged by letters and gifts, he granted him pardon and peace. He also defeated in battle the king of Iberia, Artaces, and received his surrender. Armenia Minor he gave to Deiotarus, King of Galatia, because he had been an ally in the Mithridatic War. To Attalus and Pylaemenes he restored Paphlagonia. He appointed Aristarchus as King of Colchis. Subsequently he defeated the Ituraeans and Arabs. In addition, when he had arrived in Syria, he rewarded Seleucia, a city near to Antioch, with its freedom, because it had not received King Tigranes. He restored their hostages to the people of Antioch. To the people of Daphne he gave some territory in order that the grove there might be more spacious, since he was charmed by the beauty of the place and the abundance of its waters. From there he proceeded to Judaea and captured Jerusalem, the capital of that people, in the third month, killing twelve thousand Jews and receiving the rest as subjects. After these achievements he returned to Asia and put an end to that most protracted war.¹⁹
- 15 In the consulship of Marcus Tullius Cicero, the orator, and Gaius Antonius, in the six hundred and eighty-ninth year after the founding of the city, Lucius Sergius Catilina, a man of the noblest of families, but of the most corrupt disposition, conspired to destroy his country together with several men who were indeed eminent but also presumptuous. He was expelled from the city by Cicero. His accomplices were apprehended and strangled in prison. Catilina himself was defeated in battle by Antonius, the other consul, and killed.²⁰
- 16 In the six hundred and ninetieth year after the founding of the city,

in the consulship of Didius Junius Silanus and Lucius Murena, Metellus celebrated a triumph for Crete, Pompey for the Pirate and Mithridatic Wars. No triumphal procession was ever equal to this. The sons of Mithridates, the son of Tigranes, and Aristobulus, King of the Jews, were led before his chariot: a huge sum of money and a vast weight of gold and silver were carried in display. At this time there was no serious war throughout the world.²¹

- 17 In the six hundred and ninety-third year after the founding of the city Gaius Julius Caesar, who afterwards ruled as emperor, was made consul with Lucius Bibulus.²² Gaul and Illyricum were assigned to him, with ten legions, He first defeated the Helvetii, who are now called the Sequani, then by victories in the most difficult of wars he advanced as far as the British Ocean. In about nine years, however, he subdued the whole of Gaul which lies between the Alps, the River Rhône, the Rhine and the Ocean and extends in circumference up to thirty-two hundred miles. Subsequently he waged war against the Britons, to whom before his time not even the name of the Romans was known. He defeated them, too, and, after receiving hostages, made them pay tribute. On Gaul, however, under the claim of tribute, he imposed the annual sum of forty million sesterces and, after attacking the Germans across the Rhine, he defeated them in the most monstrous battles. Among so many successes he was defeated three times, once among the Arverni in person and twice in Germany when he was absent, for his two legates (commanders), Titurius and Arunculeius, were cut down in ambushes.²³
- 18 At about the same time, in the six hundred and ninety-seventh year after the founding of the city, Marcus Licinius Crassus, the colleague of Gnaeus Pompey the Great, who was in his second consulship, was sent against the Parthians and, when he had fought near Carrhae contrary to the omen and auspices, was defeated by Surena, the general of King Orodes, and finally killed together with his son, a most noble and outstanding young man. The remainder of the army was saved by the quaestor, Gaius Cassius, who, with singular resolve retrieved their losses with such great courage that, on his return across the Euphrates, he defeated the Persians in frequent battles.²⁴
- 19 From this point onwards the Civil War followed, both bitter and lamentable, in which, apart from the disasters which occurred in the

battles, even the fortune of the Roman people was changed.²⁵ For Caesar, returning victorious from Gaul, began to demand a second consulship and in such a way that it would be granted to him without any uncertainty. It was opposed by Marcellus, the consul, by Bibulus, Pompey and Cato, and he was ordered to disband his armies and return to the city. On account of this insult he came with his army from Ariminum, where he had his soldiers gathered, against his country. The consuls, together with Pompey, and the whole senate and all the nobility fled from the city and crossed over into Greece. In Epirus, Macedonia and Achaëa the senate, with Pompey as general, prepared for war against Caesar.²⁶

- 20 Caesar marched into the empty city and made himself dictator. Then he set out for the Spains. There he overcame the very powerful and brave armies of Pompey with their three generals, Lucius Afranius, Marcus Petreius and Marcus Varro.²⁷ After returning from there he crossed over into Greece and fought against Pompey. In the first battle he was defeated and put to flight, but he escaped because, since night was coming on, Pompey was unwilling to pursue him, and Caesar said that Pompey did not know how to conquer and it was only on that day that he might have been overcome. Thereafter they fought in Thessaly at Palaeopharsalus, both sides leading vast forces. The battle line of Pompey had forty thousand infantry, six hundred cavalry on the left wing, five hundred on the right, and in addition auxiliaries from the whole east, all the nobility, countless senators, former consuls, former praetors and those who had already been victorious in great wars. Caesar had not quite thirty thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry in his battle line.

- 21 Never before had larger Roman forces come together in one place or under better generals, forces which would easily have subdued the whole world if they had been led against barbarians. Nevertheless they fought with tremendous effort and finally Pompey was defeated and his camp plundered.²⁸ He himself was put to flight and made for Alexandria in order that he might receive assistance from the King of Egypt, to whom, on account of his youth, he had been appointed guardian by the senate. He, considering fortune more important than friendship, killed Pompey and sent his head and ring to Caesar. At the sight of this even Caesar is said to have shed tears as he regarded the head of such a

great man who was once his son-in-law.²⁹

- 22 Subsequently, Caesar came to Alexandria. Ptolemy attempted to organize a plot against him, too, and for this reason war was waged against the king. After being defeated he perished in the Nile and his body was found with a golden cuirass. Caesar took possession of Alexandria and gave the kingdom to Cleopatra, the sister of Ptolemy, with whom he had a shameful relationship.³⁰ Returning from there Caesar defeated in battle Pharnaces, son of Mithridates the Great, who had been of assistance to Pompey in Thessaly and was rebelling in Pontus and occupying many provinces of the Roman people, and afterwards he forced him to commit suicide.³¹
- 23 After returning from there to Rome he made himself consul for a third time with Marcus Aemilius Lepidus who had also been his master of horse when he was dictator the year before.³² From there he set out for Africa where a very large number of the nobility along with Juba, King of Mauretania, had renewed the war. The Roman generals, however, were Publius Cornelius Scipio from that most ancient family of Scipio Africanus (he had also been the father-in-law of Pompey), Marcus Petreius, Quintus Varus, Marcus Porcius Cato, Lucius Cornelius Faustus, son of the dictator Sulla. Caesar joined battle with these and after many engagements was victorious. Cato, Scipio, Petreius and Juba committed suicide. Faustus, the son of the former dictator Sulla and Pompey's son-in-law, was killed by Caesar.³³
- 24 After a year Caesar returned to Rome and made himself consul a fourth time and immediately set out for the Spains, where the sons of Pompey, Gnaeus Pompey and Sextus Pompey, had made vast preparations for war. There were many battles, the last at the city of Munda, where Caesar was so nearly defeated that as his men fled he wanted to kill himself lest, after obtaining such great military glory, he, at the age of fifty-six, should fall into the hands of young men. Finally, after rallying his men, he was victorious. The elder of Pompey's sons was killed, the younger fled.³⁴
- 25 From there, after ending the Civil Wars throughout the whole world, Caesar returned to Rome. He began to act too arrogantly and contrary to the custom of Roman liberty. Therefore, since he even awarded at his own pleasure offices which previously were conferred by the people, and did not rise for the senate when it approached him and did other things in a regal or almost tyrannical

manner, a conspiracy was formed against him by sixty or more Roman senators and knights. The leaders among the conspirators were the two Bruti, of the family of that Brutus who had been the first consul at Rome and had expelled the kings, and Gaius Cassius and Servilius Casca.³⁵ Therefore, when he had come to the senate house among the rest on the day of the senate meeting, Caesar was stabbed with twenty-three wounds.³⁶

BOOK SEVEN

- 1 In about the seven hundred and ninth year of the city, after Caesar had been killed,¹ the Civil Wars were renewed, for the senate favoured the assassins of Caesar. Antony, the consul, who belonged to the party of Caesar, attempted to crush them in the Civil Wars. Consequently, since the state had been thrown into confusion, Antony was declared a public enemy by the senate for committing many crimes. The two consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, were sent to pursue him, as well as Octavian, a young man of eighteen years, the grand-nephew of Caesar, whom he had left as his heir in his will and ordered to bear his name. This is the man who afterwards was called Augustus and became master of the state. The three generals, therefore, marched against Antony and defeated him. It turned out, however, that both victorious consuls died. Therefore the three armies came under the command of one man, Caesar Augustus.²
- 2 Antony, who had been routed and had lost his army, fled to Lepidus, who had been Caesar's master of horse and at that time retained large bodies of troops, and he was received by him. Subsequently, through the efforts of Lepidus, Caesar made peace with Antony and, ostensibly to avenge the death of his father, through whose will he had been adopted, he marched on Rome with his army and used force to ensure that the consulship would be granted to him in his twentieth year. He proscribed the senate and together with Antony and Lepidus began to control the state by armed might. Through these men even Cicero, the orator, was killed and many other nobles.³
- 3 Meanwhile, Brutus and Cassius, the murderers of Caesar, stirred up a great war, for there were throughout Macedonia and the East many armies, which they had seized. Caesar Octavian Augustus and Mark Antony, therefore, marched against them, for Lepidus had remained

behind to defend Italy, and at Philippi, a city in Macedonia, they fought against them. In the first battle Antony and Caesar were defeated, however Cassius, a general of the nobility, perished. In the second they defeated and killed Brutus and vast numbers of the nobility who were waging the war together with them.⁴ And so the republic was divided between them in such a way that Augustus controlled the Spains, the Gauls and Italy, Antony Asia, Pontus and the East.⁵ But in Italy the consul Lucius Antonius, the brother of the man who had fought with Caesar against Brutus and Cassius, stirred up a civil war. He was defeated at Perugia, a city in Tuscany, and captured but not killed.⁶

- 4 Meanwhile a large-scale war was set in motion in Sicily by Sextus Pompey, the son of Gnaeus Pompey the Great, and those of the party of Brutus and Cassius who had survived flocked to him. The war was fought by Caesar Augustus Octavian and Mark Antony against Sextus Pompey. Peace was finally concluded.⁷
- 5 At that time Marcus Agrippa performed successfully in Aquintania and Lucius Ventidius Bassus in three battles defeated the Persians who were bursting into Syria. He killed Pacorus, the son of King Orodes, on the very day on which Orodes, King of the Persians, had slain Crassus through the agency of his general Surena. He was the first to celebrate a most legitimate triumph at Rome over the Parthians.⁸
- 6 Meanwhile Pompey broke the peace and, after being defeated in a naval battle, was killed while fleeing to Asia. Antony, who was in control of Asia and the East, divorced the sister of Caesar Augustus Octavian and married Cleopatra, the Queen of Egypt. He himself also fought against the Persians. In the first battles he defeated them, however he suffered from famine and pestilence and, when the Parthians pressured him as he retreated, he himself withdrew as if he had been defeated.⁹
- 7 He, too, set in motion a great civil war at the instigation of his wife Cleopatra, the Queen of Egypt, as she desired with a woman's passion to reign even in the city (of Rome). He was defeated by Augustus in a famous and celebrated sea battle at Actium, which is a place in Epirus, from where he fled to Egypt and in desperation, since everyone had gone over to Augustus, he himself committed suicide. Cleopatra applied an asp to herself and died of its poison. Egypt was added to the Roman Empire by Octavian Augustus and

Gaius Cornelius Gallus was put in charge of it. He was the first Roman governor that Egypt had.¹⁰

- 8 And so when he had brought wars to an end throughout the whole world Octavian Augustus returned to Rome in the twelfth year after he had become consul. From that time he controlled the state alone for forty-four years, for in the twelve preceding years he had held power with Antony and Lepidus. Thus from its beginning to its end his reign lasted fifty-six years. He died a natural death, however, in his seventy-sixth year at Atella, a town in Campania.¹¹ He was buried at Rome in the Campus Martius, and was considered, not without reason, to be in most respects like a god,¹² for you would not easily find anyone either more successful than he in war or more moderate in peace. During the forty-four years in which he held power alone, he behaved most graciously, was extremely generous to all, and exceedingly loyal to his friends, whom he raised to such positions of honour that he almost raised them to his own dignity.
- 9 At no time before his reign was the Roman state more flourishing, for if we omit the civil wars, in which he was undefeated, he added to the Roman Empire Egypt, Cantabria, Dalmatia, which had often been conquered previously but was only then completely subdued, Pannonia, Aquitania, Illyricum, Raetia, the Vindelici and Salassi in the Alps, and all the maritime cities of Pontus, among which the most notable were Bosphorus and Panticapaeum. Furthermore he defeated the Dacians in battle, slew vast forces of Germans and also drove them over the River Elbe, which is in barbarian territory far beyond the Rhine. This war, however, he managed through his stepson, Drusus, just as he had through his other stepson, Tiberius, the Pannonian war, in which he transplanted forty thousand captives from Germany and settled them in Gaul beyond the bank of the Rhine. He recovered Armenia from the Parthians and the Persians gave him hostages, which they had given to no one previously. He also restored the Roman standards which they had taken from Crassus after defeating him.
- 10 The Scythians and Indians, to whom the name of the Romans had previously been unknown, sent presents and envoys to him. Galatia was also made a province under him, whereas previously it had been a kingdom, and Marcus Lollius as propractor was the first to govern it.¹³ Nevertheless, he was the object of such great affection, even among the barbarians, that kings who were friends of the Roman

people founded cities in his honour which they called Caesarea, like the one in Mauretania (established) by King Juba, and the one in Palestine, which now is a very famous city. Moreover many kings came from their kingdoms in order to show their respect for him, and in Roman dress, that is to say clad in togas, ran beside his carriage or his horse.¹⁴ On his death he was acclaimed a god. He left the state in a most prosperous condition to his successor Tiberius, who had been his stepson, subsequently his son-in-law and finally, by adoption, his son.¹⁵

- 11 Tiberius managed the empire with great indolence, severe cruelty, heinous greed and shameless wantonness, for he fought nowhere in person and conducted wars through his legates. Certain kings who had been summoned to him with flattery he never sent back, among them Archelaus of Cappadocia, whose kingdom he even reduced to the status of a province and whose most important city he ordered to be called after his own name, so that it is now named Caesarea whereas previously it was called Mazaca. He died in Campania in the twenty-third year of his reign and the seventy-eighth of his life, to the great delight of all.¹⁶
- 12 He was succeeded by Gaius Caesar, surnamed Caligula, grandson of Drusus, Augustus' stepson, and of Tiberius himself¹⁷, a most wicked and pernicious person and one who effaced even Tiberius' disgraceful activities. He undertook a war against the Germans but after entering Suebia he took no action. He defiled his sisters and even acknowledged a daughter born to one of them. While he was brutalizing all, because of his enormous greed, wantonness and cruelty, he was killed in the Palace in the twenty-ninth year of his life after ruling three years, ten months and eight days.¹⁸
- 13 After him came Claudius, the uncle of Caligula and son of that Drusus who has a monument at Moguntiacum (Mainz), of whom Caligula also was the grandson. He ruled passably well, accomplishing many things with calmness and restraint, some with cruelty and absurdity.¹⁹ He made war on Britain, which no Roman had entered since Gaius Caesar, and when it had been conquered by Gnaeus Sentius and Aulus Plautius, illustrious and noble men, he held a notable triumph. Furthermore, he added to the Roman Empire certain islands situated beyond Britain in the Ocean which are called the Orkneys and also gave his son the name Britannicus. He showed himself so courteous, however, among certain of his

friends that he even joined in person the triumph of Plautius, a noble man who had achieved many outstanding exploits on the British expedition, and walked on Plautius' left as he climbed up to the Capitol. He lived sixty-four years and ruled fourteen. After his death he was consecrated and deified.²⁰

- 14 Nero succeeded him, a man very similar to his uncle Caligula who both disgraced and weakened the Roman Empire. He indulged in such exceptional luxury and extravagance, after the example of Gaius Caligula, that he would bathe in hot and cold perfumes and fish with golden nets which he used to draw up with purple silk cords.²¹ He executed a vast number of the senate and was an enemy of all good men. Finally, he exposed himself in such a shameful manner that he both danced and sang on the stage in the costume of a cithara player or tragic actor.²² He committed many acts of parricide, murdering his brother, his wife and his mother.²³ He set the city of Rome on fire in order that he might see the likeness of that spectacle which Troy once presented when it was captured and burned.²⁴ In military matters he attempted nothing at all and almost lost Britain, for under him two of the most celebrated cities there were captured and razed. The Parthians seized Armenia and sent Roman legions under the yoke.²⁵ Nevertheless, two provinces were created under him, Pontus Polemoniacus, which was given up by its king, Polemon, and the Cottian Alps, on the death of King Cottius.²⁶
- 15 After becoming detestable to the Roman world through these acts he was simultaneously deserted by all and declared an enemy by the senate. Since he was being sought for punishment (the punishment was such that he should be dragged naked through the city with his head inserted in a wooden fork, he should be beaten to death with rods and thus hurled from the [Tarpeian] rock,) he fled from the Palace and killed himself in a suburban villa of his freedman, which lies between the Salarian and Nomentane roads at the fourth milestone from the city. At Rome he built baths which previously were called the Neronian but now are name the Alexandrian Baths. He died in the thirty-second year of his life, the fourteenth of his reign, and with him the whole family of Augustus became extinct.²⁷
- 16 Servius Galba succeeded him, a senator of long-established nobility.²⁸ He was elected emperor while in the seventy-third year of his life by the Spaniards and Gauls, and subsequently he was readily accepted by the whole army, for his private life [i.e. before

he became emperor] had been distinguished in military and civil affairs. He had often been consul, often proconsul and frequently a general in the most important wars. His reign was short but he would have made a good beginning if he had not seemed excessively inclined to severity. Nevertheless, he was killed through the treachery of Otho in the seventh month of his reign. His throat was cut in the forum at Rome and he was buried in his gardens which are on the Aurelian Way, not far from the city of Rome²⁹.

- 17 After Galba had been killed Otho seized power, a man nobler on his mother's side than on his father's, but obscure on neither. In his private life he was weak and a close friend of Nero; in his reign he was unable to give any evidence of his character, for Vitellius had also been made emperor by the German armies at the same time that Otho had killed Galba. After Otho had undertaken a war against him and had been defeated in a minor battle at Bedriacum in Italy, although he retained immense forces for the war he nevertheless willingly committed suicide. Even though his troops begged him not to despair of the outcome of the war so quickly, when he had stated that he was not so important that a civil war should be incited on his account, he died voluntarily in the thirty-eight year of his life on the ninety-fifth day of his reign.³⁰
- 18 Next Vitellius seized power, a man of honourable rather than noble family, for his father was not of very illustrious birth yet he had held three ordinary consulships. He ruled with great shame and was notable for his oppressive cruelty and particularly for his gluttony and voracity, especially since it is reported that he regularly feasted four or five times a day. In fact, an extremely remarkable dinner has been recorded which his brother Vitellius gave for him, at which, in addition to the other expensive delicacies, two thousand fish and seven thousand birds are said to have been served. Since he wanted to resemble Nero and demonstrated this so clearly that he even paid respect to Nero's remains which had been given a sordid burial, he was slain by Vespasian's generals after he had first killed in the city Sabinus, the brother of the emperor Vespasian, by burning him along with the Capitol. Vitellius, however, was killed in a very shameful manner. Through the city of Rome, in public view, he was dragged naked by the hair, with his head held erect by a sword thrust under his chin, pelted with dung on the face and chest by all the bystanders, and finally his throat was cut and he was

thrown into the Tiber and not even given a common burial. He died in the fifty-seventh year of his life, in the eighth month and first day of his reign³¹.

- 19 Vespasian succeeded him, being appointed emperor in Palestine. He was a ruler of obscure birth, to be sure, but comparable to the best emperors, distinguished in his private life inasmuch as he had been sent by Claudius to Germany and then to Britain, fought with the enemy thirty-two times and added to the Roman Empire two very powerful nations, twenty towns and the Isle of Wight, which is very close to Britain³². At Rome he behaved with great restraint during his reign.³³ Only with regard to money was he rather greedy, but in such a way that he deprived no one of it unfairly. Although he used to collect it with the utmost concern for thoroughness, he nevertheless distributed it most readily, especially to the needy, and you would not easily find the generosity of any emperor before him either greater or more judicious³⁴. He had an extremely calm and gentle disposition with the result that he did not readily punish even those accused of treason against himself with a penalty stiffer than exile. Under him Judaea was added to the Roman Empire and Jerusalem, which was the most celebrated city of Palestine. He reduced to the status of provinces Achaea, Lycia, Rhodes, Byzantium and Samos, which had been free before that time, and similarly Thrace, Cilicia and Commagene, which had been subject to allied kings³⁵.
- 20 Unmindful of offences and enmities he easily tolerated insults uttered against him by lawyers and philosophers³⁶, but was a strenuous enforcer of military discipline. He, together with his son, Titus, celebrated a triumph over the people of Jerusalem³⁷. For these reasons, while he remained beloved and dear to the senate, the people and, in short, to everyone, he died of diarrhoea in his own villa in the Sabine district, in the sixty-ninth year of his life, the ninth year and seventh day of his reign, and he was enrolled among the gods³⁸. He was so conversant with the horoscope of his sons that, although there were many conspiracies against him, which he disregarded with remarkable indifference when they were revealed, he stated in the senate that either his sons would succeed him or no one³⁹.
- 21 His son Titus, who was also called Vespasian, succeeded him⁴⁰, a man of all virtues and so remarkable from birth that he was called

the darling and delight of the human race⁴¹. He was extremely eloquent, warlike and restrained. He pleaded cases in Latin and composed poems and tragedies in Greek⁴². At the siege of Jerusalem, while serving under his father, he transfixed twelve defenders with twelve arrows⁴³. At Rome he displayed such great graciousness during his reign that he punished no one at all, dismissed those convicted of conspiracy against him and treated them with the same intimacy as before⁴⁴. He was so affable and generous that, since he denied nothing to anyone and was blamed by his friends (for that), he replied that no one should be dejected upon leaving the emperor. Furthermore, when he had remembered one day at dinner that he had shown no one a favour on that day, he said, "Friends, today I have lost a day."⁴⁵ He built an amphitheatre at Rome and slaughtered five thousand wild animals at its dedication.⁴⁶

- 22 While he was cherished with extraordinary affection for these actions he died of an ailment in the villa in which his father died, two years, eight months and twenty days after he had been made emperor, in the forty-second year of his life. So great was the public grief at his death that all mourned as if it were a personal bereavement. The senate, although it received the announcement of his death towards evening, rushed to the senate house at night and heaped upon him even greater praise and acknowledgements after his death than they had ever offered him when he was alive and present. He was enrolled among the gods.⁴⁷
- 23 Domitian, his younger brother, subsequently received the imperial power.⁴⁸ He was more like Nero or Caligula or Tiberius than his father or brother.⁴⁹ None the less in his first years he was restrained in his government: subsequently he progressed to the monstrous vices of lust, rage, cruelty and greed and provoked such great hatred against himself that he effaced the valuable services of both his father and his brother. He executed the most distinguished men of the senate. He was the first to command that he be addressed as Lord and God.⁵⁰ He allowed no statue to be erected to him on the Capitol unless it were of gold or silver. He executed his cousins. His arrogance, too, was loathsome. He conducted four campaigns, one against the Sarmatians, a second against the Catti, and two against the Dacians. Over the Dacians and Catti he celebrated a double triumph, for the Sarmatians he assumed only the laurel

crown. Nevertheless, he suffered many disasters in these same wars, for in Sarmatia one of his legions was destroyed together with its general, and Oppius Sabinus, a former consul, and Cornelius Fuscus, the praetorian prefect, were cut down, together with their large armies, by the Dacians.⁵¹ At Rome he also constructed many public works, among them the Capitol, the Forum Transitorium, the Portico of the gods, the Temple of Isis and Serapis and the Stadium.⁵² But when he had begun to be universally hated on account of his crimes he was killed through a conspiracy of his own men in the Palace in the forty-fifth year of his life and the fifteenth of his reign. His corpse was carried out in an extremely shameful manner by common bearers and buried ignominiously.⁵³

BOOK EIGHT

- 1 In the eight hundred and fiftieth year from the founding of the city, in the consulship of Vetus and Valens, the state returned to a most prosperous condition after being entrusted with great good fortune to virtuous rulers. That is to say Domitian, a destructive tyrant, was succeeded by Nerva, a man who was in private life restrained but energetic and of the middle nobility.¹ He was made emperor when quite an old man through the agency of Petronius Secundus, the praetorian prefect and also of Parthenius, the murderer of Domitian.² He behaved with very great justice and grace. He provided for the good of the state with divine foresight by adopting Trajan.³ He died at Rome after a reign of one year, four months and eight days, in the seventy-second year of his life, and he was enrolled among the gods.⁴
- 2 Ulpius Crinitus Trajan succeeded him, a man born at Italica in Spain of an old rather than eminent family, for his father was the first to become consul. He was made emperor, however, at Cologne in Gaul.⁵ He governed the state in such a way that he was deservedly preferred to all the emperors, being a man of extraordinary courtesy and bravery.⁶ He extended far and wide the boundaries of the Roman Empire, which, after Augustus, had been defended rather than honourably enlarged. He rebuilt some cities across the Rhine in Germany and, after defeating Decebalus, subdued Dacia and created a province beyond the Danube in those territories which the Taifali, Victohali and Thervingi now hold. That province was a

thousand miles in circumference.⁷

- 3 He recovered Armenia, which the Parthians had occupied, after killing Parthomasiris who controlled it.⁸ He gave a king to the Albani and received into alliance the kings of the Iberians, the Sauromatians, the Bosphorani, the Arabs, the Osdroeni and the Colchi. He took possession of the Cardueni, the Marcomedi and Anthemusium, a large region of Persia, Seleucia, Ctesiphon and Babylon; he defeated and retained control of the Messenii.⁹ He advanced as far as the frontiers of India and the Red Sea and he created three provinces there, Armenia, Assyria and Mesopotamia, including those tribes which border on Madena. Arabia he afterwards reduced to the status of a province. On the Red Sea he established a fleet, so that he might ravage the (outlying) territories of India with it.¹⁰
- 4 Nevertheless he surpassed his military renown with his graciousness and restraint. At Rome and throughout the provinces he behaved to everyone as an equal, frequently visiting his friends to greet them, either whenever they were ill or celebrating special days, or taking turns to hold dinner parties with the same people without making distinctions of rank, often sitting in their carriages, harming none of the senators and doing nothing unjust to fill the treasury. He was generous to everyone, publicly and privately enriching and promoting all with whom he had become only moderately familiar.¹¹ Throughout the world he constructed many buildings¹², granted immunities to (various) states and acted throughout with such calm composure that during the whole of his reign (only) one senator was condemned, and even he was sentenced by the senate without Trajan's knowledge.¹³ For these reasons he was considered god-like throughout the world and earned nothing but respect both while he was alive and after his death.
- 5 Among his other sayings this one is considered exceptional, for when his friends blamed him for being too accessible to all, he replied that he was the kind of emperor to ordinary citizens as he would have liked emperors to be to him as an ordinary citizen.¹⁴ However, after he had acquired immense glory in war and at home, he died of diarrhoea at Seleucia in Isauria as he was returning from Persia. He passed away in the sixty-third year, ninth month and fourth day of his life and in the nineteenth year, sixth month and fifteenth day of his reign, and he was enrolled among the gods.¹⁵

He was the only one of all the emperors to be buried within the city. His bones, collected in a golden urn, were placed in the forum which he built, under a pillar whose height is a hundred and forty-four feet.¹⁶ So much respect has been paid to his memory that, right up to our own age, the emperors are still acclaimed in the senate as, "More fortunate than Augustus, better than Trajan." To such an extent has the reputation of his goodness lasted that it provides those who either (wish to) flatter or to praise sincerely with the opportunity to use him as the most outstanding model.¹⁷

- 6 After Trajan's death Aelius Hadrian was appointed emperor, not, indeed, through any desire on the part of Trajan, but through the agency of Plotina, Trajan's wife, for Trajan, while he was still alive, had refused to adopt him although he was the son of his cousin. He, too, was born at Italica in Spain.¹⁸ Because he envied Trajan's reputation he immediately surrendered three provinces which Trajan had added, recalled the armies from Assyria, Mesopotamia and Armenia and decided that the Euphrates should be the boundary of the empire.¹⁹ His friends deterred him from trying to do the same with respect to Dacia to prevent many Roman citizens from being surrendered to the barbarians, because Trajan, after conquering Dacia, had transferred there vast numbers of people from all over the Roman world to inhabit the countryside and the cities. Dacia had, in fact, been depopulated in the lengthy war with Decebalus.²⁰
- 7 Nevertheless he enjoyed peace through the whole period of his reign and waged war only once, through the agency of a governor.²¹ He travelled throughout the Roman world and was responsible for much construction.²² He was extremely eloquent in the Latin language and very learned in Greek.²³ He did not have a great reputation for clemency, but he was extremely careful concerning the treasury and military discipline.²⁴ He was over sixty years old when he died in Campania, in the twenty-first year, tenth month and twenty-ninth day of his reign.²⁵ The senate refused to grant him divine honours, nevertheless, although his successor, Titus Aurelius Antoninus Fulvius, strenuously insisted on it and all the senators openly opposed it, he finally received them.²⁶
- 8 Accordingly Titus Antoninus Fulvius Boionius, who was also named Pius, succeeded Hadrian. Coming from an eminent but not particularly long-standing family he was a distinguished man who deserves to be compared to Numa Pompilius just as Trajan should

be compared to Romulus.²⁷ As a private citizen he lived extremely honourably, and even more so during his reign, being harsh to no one, kind to all, possessing a moderate reputation in military matters, and intent on defending rather than enlarging the provinces. He sought the most honest men to administer the state, honoured good men, rejected wicked ones without any harshness, and to such an extent was he respected as well as feared by allied kings that very many barbarian nations set aside their arms, referred their controversies and disputes to him and submitted to his decisions.²⁸

Although he was very rich before he began to rule he actually reduced all of resources by paying the soldiers and showing generosity to his friends, but he left the treasury well-stocked. He was called Pius because of his clemency. He died at Lorium, his estate, twelve miles from the city, in the seventy-third year of his life, the twenty-third of his reign, and he was enrolled among the gods and deservedly consecrated.²⁹

- 9 After him Marcus Antoninus Verus ruled. He was indisputably of a very noble family inasmuch as his paternal lineage descended from Numa Pompilius, his maternal from the king of the Salentini³⁰, and with him reigned Lucius Annus Antoninus Verus. Then for the first time the Roman state was ruled by two emperors governing the empire with equal power, whereas before him it had always had single emperors.
- 10 These were related to one another both by birth and by marriage, for Verus Annus Antoninus married the daughter of Marcus Antoninus but Marcus Antoninus was the son-in-law of Antoninus Pius through his wife, Galeria Faustina the younger, his cousin.³¹ They waged war against the Parthians, who had then rebelled for the first time since Trajan's victory. Verus Antoninus marched out for that purpose and he, while operating at Antioch and on the Armenian front, achieved many substantial successes through his generals. He captured Seleucia, the most famous city in Assyria, together with forty thousand men, and won a triumph over the Parthians, which he celebrated with his brother who was also his father-in-law.³² Nevertheless, he died in Venetia as he was setting out for Altinum from the city of Concordia and while he was sitting with his brother in his carriage, struck down by a sudden rush of blood from the accidental attack of a sickness which the Greeks call apoplexy. Although he was by nature a man lacking in grace, none the less he

never dared to do anything cruel because of his respect for his brother. When he had died, in the eleventh year of his reign, he was enrolled among the gods.³³

- 11 After him Marcus Antoninus, a man one might more easily admire than praise, ruled the state alone. From the beginning of his life he was extremely composed, to such an extent that even from his infancy he changed his expression neither through joy nor through sorrow. Dedicated to the Stoic philosophy he himself was also a philosopher not only in the conduct of his life but also in his learning. He was so greatly admired while still a young man that Hadrian intended to leave him as his successor, but, since he had adopted Antoninus Pius, he therefore wanted Marcus to become Pius' son-in-law so that by this means he might come to power.³⁴
- 12 He was instructed in philosophy by Apollonius of Chalcedon, in the study of Greek literature by Sextus of Chaeronea, the grandson of Plutarch, while Fronto, a most celebrated orator, taught him Latin literature.³⁵ He dealt with everyone at Rome on equal terms, was not inflated to the point of arrogance by the loftiness of his imperial position, but was very ready to be generous. He treated the provinces with great kindness and restraint. During his reign successes were achieved against the Germans. He himself waged one war against the Marcomanni, but it was greater than any that can be remembered, with the result that it should be compared to the Punic Wars³⁶, seeing that it was made all the more serious because entire Roman armies had perished. In fact, under him there was such a terrible outbreak of the plague that, after his victory over the Persians, at Rome and throughout Italy and the provinces a very great proportion of the inhabitants and almost all of the troops died from the enfeebling disease.³⁷
- 13 When he had persevered, therefore, with enormous labour and patience for three whole years at Carnuntum, he put an end to the Marcomannic war which, together with the latter, the Quadi, Vandals, Sarmatae, Suebi and all the barbarians had provoked. He killed many thousand men, freed the Pannonians from slavery, and again celebrated a triumph at Rome with Commodus Antoninus, his son, whom he had by then made Caesar.³⁸ Since the treasury had been exhausted to pay for this war and he had no funds to distribute and he did not want to place any tax on the provincials or the senate, at an auction held in the forum of the deified Trajan he sold

- off the belongings of his royal way of life, gold vessels, crystal goblets, wine flavoured with myrrh, his wife's and his own silk and gold embroidered garments and many jewelled ornaments. The sale went on for two months consecutively and a lot of gold was raised. After his victory, however, he gave back the purchase price to those buyers who were willing to return what they had bought, but he troubled no one who preferred to keep what he had purchased.³⁹
- 14 He allowed the more eminent men to give banquets in the same style as he himself, and with similar attendants. In the display of games after his victory he was so bounteous that he is said to have exhibited a hundred lions at one time. When, therefore, he had made the state prosperous, both through his goodness and through his clemency, he died in the eighteenth year of his reign and the sixty-first of his life and was enrolled among the gods with unanimous and enthusiastic acclaim.⁴⁰
 - 15 His successor, Lucius Antoninus Commodus, was nothing like his father, except that he himself fought successfully against the Germans.⁴¹ He tried to name the month of September after himself so that it would be called Commodus.⁴² But he was depraved through his luxurious tastes and lewdness and very often, clad in gladiator's equipment, he fought men of that kind at the gladiatorial school and, afterwards, even in the amphitheatre.⁴³ When he had reigned twelve years and eight months after his father, he died suddenly and in such a way that it was thought that he had been strangled or poisoned, and he was so universally detested that even after his death he was considered an enemy of the human race.⁴⁴
 - 16 He was succeeded by Pertinax, a man of advanced age who had reached seventy and was at that moment serving as prefect of the city. He was ordered to rule by decree of the senate. On the eightieth day of his reign he was killed in a mutiny of the praetorian soldiers through the criminal act of Julianus.⁴⁵
 - 17 After him Salvius Julianus seized possession of the state, a man of noble birth and highly skilled in the law, the grandson of Salvius Julianus who composed the "Permanent Edict" under the deified Hadrian. He was defeated by Severus at the Milvian Bridge and killed in the Palace. He lived seven months after he had begun to rule.⁴⁶
 - 18 After this Septimius Severus assumed the government of the Roman Empire⁴⁷, a native of Africa, the province of Tripolis and the town

of Leptis.⁴⁸ He was the only emperor from Africa at all on record, whether from before his time or afterwards.⁴⁹ At first he was legal counsel of the treasury,⁵⁰ subsequently a military tribune⁵¹ and thereafter, through various offices and higher positions, he came to administer the whole state. He intentionally assumed the name of Pertinax in honour of that Pertinax who had been killed by Julianus⁵². He was quite parsimonious and cruel by nature. He waged many wars successfully. Pescennius Niger, who had rebelled in Egypt and Syria, he killed at Cyzicus⁵³. He defeated the Parthians, the Arabs of the interior and the Adiabeni. The Arabs he crushed so severely that he even created a province in their territory. For that reason he was given the titles Parthicus, Arabicus and Adiabenicus⁵⁴. He restored many buildings throughout the whole Roman world. Under him, too, Clodius Albinus, who had been Julianus' ally in assassinating Pertinax and had made himself Caesar in Gaul, was defeated and killed at Lyons.⁵⁵

- 19 Severus, however, in addition to his military reputation, was also distinguished for his civil pursuits, for he was accomplished in literature and had acquired an extensive knowledge of philosophy.⁵⁶ His last war was in Britain and, in order that he might protect with all possible security the provinces which he had recovered, he built a rampart for a hundred and thirty-two miles from sea to sea.⁵⁷ He was quite an old man when he died at York, in the sixteenth year and third month of his reign.⁵⁸ He was named a god, for he left two sons as his successors, Bassianus and Geta, but he decided that the name of Antoninus should be given to Bassianus by the senate. Therefore he was called Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Bassianus and succeeded his father, for Geta was declared a public enemy and immediately perished.⁵⁹

- 20 Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Bassianus then, who was also called Caracalla⁶⁰, possessed his father's disposition for the most part, but was somewhat harsher and menacing. He built a bath, an extraordinary structure, which is called the Bath of Antoninus⁶¹, but otherwise did nothing memorable. He was unable to control his passions since he married his own stepmother, Julia.⁶² He died at Edessa in Osdroena, as he was undertaking an expedition against the Parthians in the sixth year and the second month of his reign, having barely passed his forty-third year. He was buried with a public funeral.⁶³

- 21 Thereafter Opilius Macrinus, who was the praetorian prefect, and his son Diadumenus, were made emperors, but they achieved nothing memorable on account of the shortness of their time (in power), for their rule lasted one year and two months. Both were killed at the same time in a mutiny of the soldiers.⁶⁴
- 22 Marcus Aurelius Antoninus was chosen (emperor) after these. He was considered the son of Antoninus Caracalla, but was a priest of the Temple of Heliogabalus. Although both the soldiers and the senate had high expectations of him when he came to Rome, he defiled himself with all kinds of disgusting acts. He lived in an utterly shameless and obscene manner and was killed, together with his mother, Symiasera, in a military revolt, after two years and eight months.⁶⁵
- 23 Aurelius Alexander succeeded him, a very young man, who was designated Caesar by the army, Augustus by the senate. He undertook a war against the Persians and defeated their king, Xerxes, with great glory. He enforced military discipline very severely, cashiering some entire legions which were rebelling. He had as his adviser or head of the imperial secretariat Ulpian, the compiler of the law.⁶⁶ At Rome, too, he was popular. He perished in Gaul in a military revolt in the thirteenth year and ninth day of his reign.⁶⁷ He was exceptionally devoted to his mother Mamaea.⁶⁸

BOOK NINE

- 1 After him Maximinus (emerged) from the military ranks and was the first to come to power solely as the choice of the soldiers, since the authority of the senate had played no role and he himself was not a senator.¹ He, when he had successfully fought a war against the Germans and had been saluted as emperor by the soldiers, was deserted by his soldiers and killed by Pupienus at Aquileia, together with his son, who was still a boy, with whom he had ruled three years and a few days.²
- 2 Afterwards there were three Augusti at the same time, Pupienus, Balbinus and Gordian, the first two of very obscure birth, Gordian of noble origin, inasmuch as his father, Gordian the elder, had been chosen emperor by the consent of the soldiers while he was holding the proconsulship of Africa during the reign of Maximinus.³ Therefore, when they had come to Rome, Balbinus and Pupienus

were killed in the palace and the empire was reserved for Gordian alone.⁴ When Gordian, who was just a boy, had married Tranquillina at Rome, he opened the Temple of Janus Geminus, set out for the east and waged war against the Parthians who were at that time attempting to invade.⁵ He did, indeed, manage this war successfully and humiliated the Persians in momentous battles. As he was returning he was killed not far from the Roman frontier, through the treachery of Philip who ruled after him. The soldiers built a tomb for him at the twentieth milestone from Circesium, which is now a Roman fortress overlooking the Euphrates, conveyed his remains back to Rome and saluted him as a god.⁶

- 3 The two Philips, son and father, seized power after Gordian had been killed, brought the army back safely and set out for Italy from Syria.⁷ During their reign the thousandth anniversary of the city of Rome was celebrated with games and shows of great magnificence.⁸ Both were then killed by the army, the elder Philip at Verona, the younger at Rome.⁹ They ruled five years; they were, however, enrolled among the gods.¹⁰
- 4 After these Decius, who was born at Budalia in Lower Pannonia, assumed power. He suppressed a civil war which had been fomented in Gaul, and made his son Caesar. He built a bath at Rome. When he and his son had ruled for two years both were killed in barbarian territory. They were enrolled among the gods.¹¹
- 5 Subsequently Gallus Hostilianus and Volusianus, the son of Gallus, were chosen emperors.¹² Under them Aemilianus rebelled in Moesia. When both had set out to crush him, they were killed at Interamna without completing two years in power. They achieved nothing at all remarkable. Their reign was notable only for the plague, diseases and afflictions.¹³
- 6 Aemilianus came from an extremely insignificant family, his reign was even more insignificant, and he was slain in the third month.¹⁴
- 7 Consequently Licinius Valerian, who was serving in Raetia and Noricum, was made emperor by the army and subsequently Augustus. Gallienus, too, was acclaimed Caesar by the senate at Rome. Their reign was ruinous and almost fatal to Roman authority, whether through the misfortune of the emperors or through their indolence. The Germans advanced as far as Ravenna. Valerian, while waging war in Mesopotamia, was overcome by Sapor, the king of the Persians, was subsequently captured, and

- grew old in ignominious servitude among the Parthians.¹⁵
- 8 Gallienus, although he had been made Augustus as quite a young man¹⁶, at first governed the empire successfully, afterwards appropriately, but at the end disastrously. For, as a young man he achieved a great deal with vigour in Gaul and Illyricum.¹⁷ At Mursa he killed Ingenuus, who had seized the purple, and Trebellianus.¹⁸ For a long time he was peaceful and calm, but subsequently, after abandoning himself to every kind of debauchery, he relaxed the reins of government with cowardly inaction and despair.¹⁹ The Alamanni devastated the Gauls and penetrated Italy. Dacia, which had been added beyond the Danube by Trajan, was lost at that time.²⁰ Greece, Macedonia, Pontus and Asia were devastated by the Goths. Pannonia was ravaged by the Sarmatians and Quadi, the Germans penetrated the Spanish provinces and stormed the renowned city of Tarragona, and the Parthians occupied Mesopotamia and had begun to claim Syria for themselves.²¹
- 9 At that point, when the situation was desperate and the Roman empire had almost been destroyed, Postumus, a man of an extremely insignificant family, assumed the purple in Gaul and for ten years ruled in such a way that he restored the provinces, which had almost been ruined, by means of his great vigour and restrained government. He was killed in a military mutiny because he had refused to allow the soldiers to plunder the city of Mainz, which had rebelled against him when Laelianus was inciting a revolt.²² After him Marius, a totally common tradesman, received the purple and was killed on the following day. Victorinus afterwards received the government of the Gauls. He was an extremely energetic man but, since he was excessively sensual and seduced other men's wives, he was killed at Cologne in the second year of his reign when one of the quartermasters devised a plot (against him).²³
- 10 He was succeeded by Tetricus, a senator, who, while he was administering Aquitania with the rank of *praeses* (governor), was chosen emperor in his absence by the soldiers and assumed the purple at Bordeaux.²⁴ He endured many military revolts. But, while this was going on in Gaul, in the east the Persians were defeated by Odenathus, Syria was defended, Mesopotamia was recovered and Odenathus penetrated as far as Ctesiphon.²⁵
- 11 Thus, while Gallienus was abandoning the state, the Roman empire was saved in the west by Postumus and in the east by Odenathus.

Meanwhile Gallienus was killed with his brother Valerian at Milan in the ninth year of his reign and Claudius succeeded him, after being chosen by the soldiers and named Augustus by the senate.²⁶ In a great battle he defeated the Goths who were ravaging Illyricum and Macedonia. He was a frugal and moderate man, a steadfast upholder of justice and well-qualified to administer the state, however he died of disease within the second year of his reign.²⁷ He was named a god. The senate honoured him with remarkable distinction inasmuch as a gold shield was hung for him in the senate house and, in addition, a gold statue was erected to him on the Capitol.²⁸

- 12 After him Quintillus, the brother of Claudius, was elected emperor through the agreement of the soldiers, a man of singular moderation and grace, and comparable to or even preferable to his brother. With the agreement of the senate he was named Augustus, but was killed on the seventeenth day of his reign.²⁹
- 13 After him Aurelian assumed power. Born in Dacia Ripensis he was an effective man in war, on the other hand he had an unrestrained temper and was excessively inclined to cruelty. He, too, very vigorously defeated the Goths³⁰ and restored Roman sovereignty to its former limits by his various military successes.³¹ He overcame Tetricus at Châlons-sur-Marne in Gaul, when Tetricus himself betrayed his own army since he could not endure its constant mutinies. Indeed, through secret letters he so entreated Aurelian that he used, among others, the (following) verse of Vergil:

"Snatch me, invincible one, from these evils."³²

Not far from Antioch and without a serious battle he also captured Zenobia, who was in control of the east after her husband, Odenathus, had been killed,³³ and he entered Rome and celebrated a splendid triumph as the saviour of the east and west, with Tetricus and Zenobia walking before his chariot. In fact Tetricus was afterwards the governor of Lucania and lived for a very long time as a private citizen. Zenobia, however, left descendants at Rome who still remain (there).³⁴

- 14 During his reign even in the city there was a rebellion of the mint workers, after they had debased the coinage and killed Felicissimus, the financial officer. These Aurelian defeated and suppressed with the utmost cruelty. He condemned very many nobles to death.³⁵ He was ferocious and bloodthirsty and rather a necessary emperor in

- some respects than a kind one at all. He was always harsh, even killed his sister's son, but for the most part he improved military discipline and lax morals.³⁶
- 15 He encircled the city of Rome with stronger walls. He built the Temple of the Sun in which he placed a vast quantity of gold and gems.³⁷ He gave up the province of Dacia, which Trajan had created beyond the Danube, since the whole of Illyricum and Moesia had been devastated and he despaired of being able to retain it, and he withdrew the Romans from the cities and countryside of Dacia and resettled them in the middle of Moesia and named it Dacia, which now divides the two Moesias and is on the right bank of the Danube as it flows to the sea, whereas previously it was on the left.³⁸ He was killed through the treachery of his slave, who reported to certain military men, friends of the emperor, a list of names, forging (Aurelian's) handwriting, as if Aurelian were intending to execute them. Therefore, in order that it might be prevented, he was killed by these same men half-way along the old paved road which goes between Constantinople and Heraclea. The place is called Caenophrurium. His death, however, was not unavenged. He, too, was deservedly enrolled among the gods.³⁹
 - 16 Tacitus assumed power after him, a man of outstanding morals and well-qualified to govern the state. Nevertheless, he was unable to demonstrate anything notable since he was prevented by death in the sixth month of his reign.⁴⁰ Florianus, who had succeeded Tacitus, was in power two months and twenty days and did nothing worth remembering.⁴¹
 - 17 After him Probus, a man renowned for his military reputation, succeeded to the administration of the state.⁴² He restored the Gauls, which had been occupied by the barbarians, by his remarkable success in battles.⁴³ He crushed in (various) engagements certain men who tried to usurp the imperial power, namely Saturninus in the east and Proculus and Bonosus at Cologne.⁴⁴ He allowed the Gauls and Pannonians to have vineyards and with military labour he planted Mount Alma at Sirmium and Mount Aureus in Upper Moesia with vines and gave them to the provincials for cultivation. When he had waged innumerable wars and had obtained peace he stated that in a short time soldiers would not be necessary. He was an ardent, energetic and fair man, one who could equal Aurelian in military reputation but surpass him by

virtue of his gracious nature. Nevertheless he was killed in an iron tower at Sirmium during a military insurrection.⁴⁵

- 18 After him Carus, who was born at Narbo in Gaul, was made Augustus. He immediately made his sons, Carinus and Numerian, Caesars. But while he was waging a war against the Sarmatians news came that the Persians were causing a disturbance, so he set out for the east and achieved some notable exploits against the Persians. He routed them in battle and captured Coche and Ctesiphon, very famous cities. But while he was encamped on the Tigris he was killed by a divinely inspired bolt of lightning.⁴⁶ His son, Numerian, too, whom he had taken with him as Caesar to Persia, a young man of outstanding ability, while being conveyed in a litter because he had been stricken with a disease of the eyes, was killed through a plot instigated by Aper, who was his father-in-law. But although his death was craftily concealed until Aper could seize power, it was betrayed by the stench of his body. For the soldiers who attended him were disturbed by the smell after a few days, drew back the curtains of the litter, and were able to reveal his death.⁴⁷
- 19 Meanwhile Carinus, whom Carus, when he was setting out against the Parthians, had left as Caesar in Illyricum, Gaul and Italy, had disgraced himself with all kinds of crimes. He put to death very many innocent men on false charges, seduced the wives of nobles, and even ruined those of his school-fellows who had taunted him at school, even with trivial banter. For these reasons he was hated by all people and not long afterwards paid the penalty.⁴⁸ For the victorious army on its way back from Persia, since it had lost Carus, the Augustus, through lightning and Numerian, the Caesar, because of a plot, made Diocletian emperor, a man who came from Dalmatia and was of such insignificant origin that most (writers) believe that he was the son of a clerk, some that he was a freedman of the senator Anullinus.⁴⁹
- 20 He, at the very first assembly of the soldiers, swore on oath that Numerian had not been killed by any treachery on his part and, since Aper, who had formed a plot against Numerian, had stood next to him, Diocletian, with his own hand, ran him through with his sword in full view of the army.⁵⁰ Afterwards, at Margus in a great battle he defeated Carinus, who was the object of everyone's hatred and loathing, was betrayed by his own army, although he had the

- larger one, and was actually deserted between Viminacium and Mount Aureus.⁵¹ Thus Diocletian gained possession of the Roman empire, and when the country people in Gaul had incited a revolt and given their movement the name of Bagaudae and acquired as their leaders Amandus and Aelianus, he sent Maximianus Herculus as Caesar to crush them. He subdued the peasants in some petty skirmishes and restored peace to Gaul.⁵²
- 21 During these times Carausius, too, who had achieved an outstanding reputation through a series of vigorous military actions, though he was of the meanest birth, after he had received orders at Boulogne to clear the sea along the coast of Belgica and Armorica, which the Franks and Saxons were infesting, frequently captured many barbarians but neither returned the booty intact to the provincials nor sent it to the emperors. When it began to be suspected that the barbarians were being admitted by him on purpose, so that he might intercept them with their booty as they passed by and use this opportunity to enrich himself, his execution was ordered by Maximianus, so he assumed the purple and took possession of the British provinces.⁵³
- 22 Thus, when the whole world was in disarray, Carausius was rebelling in the British provinces, Achilles in Egypt, the Quinquegentiani were causing disturbances in Africa and Narses was making war on the east⁵⁴, Diocletian promoted Maximianus Herculus from Caesar to Augustus and made Constantius and Maximianus Caesars. Of these Constantius is said to have been the grandson of Claudius through his daughter; Maximianus Galerius was born in Dacia not far from Serdica. In addition, so that he might also join them by marriage, Constantius received Herculus' stepdaughter Theodora (as his wife), by whom he afterwards had six children, the brothers of Constantine, and Galerius married Valeria, the daughter of Diocletian. Both were compelled to divorce the wives to whom they had been married.⁵⁵ With Carausius, however, peace was eventually concluded, since war had proven to be ineffective against a man so skilled in military matters. After seven years his colleague, Allectus, killed him and he himself held the British provinces for three years after Carausius. He was crushed through the generalship of Asclepiodotus, the praetorian prefect. Thus the provinces of Britain were recovered within ten years.⁵⁶
- 23 During the same period Constantius Caesar fought successfully in

Gaul. Near Langres he experienced both bad fortune and good in a single day, for although he had been forced into the city by a sudden attack of the barbarians and with such headlong compulsion that the gates were closed and he had to be lifted onto the wall by ropes, when his army had advanced he cut down almost sixty thousand of the Alamanni in barely five hours.⁵⁷ Maximianus Augustus, too, ended the war in Africa by crushing the Quinquegentiani and compelling them to make peace. Diocletian besieged Achilleus in Alexandria, and defeated and killed him after about eight months. He made harsh use of his victory by ravaging the whole of Egypt with severe proscriptions and massacres. Nonetheless on that occasion he made many judicious arrangements and regulations which remain to our own times.⁵⁸

- 24 Galerius Maximianus at first suffered a defeat against Narses when he engaged him between Callinicum and Carrhae, although he had fought rashly rather than without spirit, for he joined battle with a very small force against an extremely numerous enemy. He was defeated, therefore, and set out to join Diocletian. When he met him on the road it is reported that he was received with such great insolence that he is said to have run beside Diocletian's chariot for several miles, clad in his purple robe.⁵⁹
- 25 Subsequently, however, after he had collected forces throughout Illyricum and Moesia, he fought again with Narses, the grandfather of Hormisda and Sapor, in Greater Armenia, this time with great success, with no less planning and at the same time with bravery since he even undertook the task of reconnaissance with one or two of the cavalry. He routed Narses, plundered his camp, captured his wives, sisters and children, in addition to a vast number of the Persian nobility and a huge amount of Persian treasure, and drove the king himself into the remotest deserts of his kingdom. Consequently, when he had returned in triumph to Diocletian, who was then waiting in Mesopotamia with reinforcements, he was welcomed with great honour.⁶⁰ Thereafter he conducted various wars both in conjunction (with Diocletian) and by himself, subdued the Carpi and Bastarnae, defeated the Sarmatians, and settled vast numbers of prisoners from these nations in Roman territories.⁶¹
- 26 Diocletian had a cunning disposition, as well as a sharp, subtle mind, and was the kind of man who was ready to transfer the odium for his own acts of severity onto others. Nonetheless he was a very

- industrious and capable emperor⁶² and the one who was first to introduce in the Roman empire a practice more in keeping with royal usage than with Roman liberty, since he gave orders that he should be revered with prostration, although before him all (emperors) were simply greeted. He had his clothing and shoes decorated with gems, whereas previously the emperor's insignia comprised only the purple robe, the rest of his dress was ordinary.⁶³
- 27 Herculus, however, was openly brutal and by nature ungracious; even his face showed his harshness with its fearsome expression. In order to gratify his own inclinations he supported Diocletian in all his excessively cruel measures.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, when Diocletian began to feel less than capable of governing the empire as old age weighed upon him, he convinced Herculus that they should retire into private life and entrust the duty of preserving the state to younger and more vigorous men. His colleague complied reluctantly. Nevertheless, on one (and the same) day, each exchanged his imperial insignia for the dress of a private citizen, Diocletian at Nicomedia, Herculus at Milan, after a magnificent triumph, which they had celebrated at Rome over numerous nations with a majestic procession of exhibits, in which the wives, sisters and children of Narses were led before the chariots. Nevertheless they did retire, the one to Split, the other to Lucania.
- 28 Diocletian, as a private citizen, grew old in his splendid retirement at his villa which is not far from Split, and showed exceptional strength of character inasmuch as he alone of all (emperors) since the establishment of the Roman empire retired of his own accord from such an eminent position to private life and ordinary citizenship. He experienced, therefore, what no one else has since the creation of man, namely that although he had died as a private citizen, he was nevertheless enrolled among the gods.⁶⁵

BOOK TEN

- 1 When these (emperors), therefore, had retired from the administration of the state, Constantius and Galerius were made emperors and the Roman world was divided between them in such a way that Constantius received the Gauls, Italy and Africa, Galerius Illyricum, Asia and the East, and two Caesars were appointed. Constantius, however, satisfied with the rank of Augustus, declined

the responsibility of governing Italy and Africa.¹ He was an outstanding man and exceptionally gracious who showed concern for the wealth of provincials and private individuals instead of simply pursuing the interests of the treasury, and said that it was better that the state's resources should be held by private individuals than they should be retained in a single vault, but his lifestyle was so modest that if, on holidays, he had to give a banquet for rather a large number of friends, his dining-rooms were laid out with the silverware of private individuals which he had borrowed by going from house to house. He was not only loved but also revered by the Gauls, especially because through his government they had escaped the mistrusted prudence of Diocletian and the bloodthirsty rashness of Maximian.² He died at York in Britain in the thirteenth year of his reign and he was enrolled among the gods.³

- 2 Galerius, a man who was both honourable in character and outstanding in military matters, when he realized that Constantius had allowed Italy also to come under his administration, appointed two Caesars, Maximinus, whom he placed in charge of the East, and Severus, to whom he gave Italy. He himself remained in Illyricum.⁴ But when Constantius had died Constantine, his son from a rather undistinguished marriage, was made emperor in Britain and succeeded his father as a most desirable ruler.⁵ At Rome, meanwhile, the praetorians rose in insurrection and named as Augustus Herculus' son, Maxentius, who was residing in the state villa not far from the city.⁶ When this had been announced Maximianus Herculus was encouraged to hope that he might regain his elevated position, which he had parted with unwillingly, and he hurried to Rome from Lucania, the location he had chosen as a private citizen so that he might grow old in the most delightful countryside, and he urged Diocletian also by letters to resume the powers he had laid down, but Diocletian disregarded them.⁷ Severus Caesar, however, was sent to Rome by Galerius to crush the rising of the praetorians and Maxentius and arrived with an army, but while besieging the city he was deserted through the treachery of his own soldiers. The resources of Maxentius were augmented and his rule was confirmed. Severus was killed at Ravenna while fleeing.⁸
- 3 After these events, however, at an assembly of the armies, Herculus Maximianus tried to divest his son Maxentius of power, but met with mutiny and reproaches from the soldiers. He then set out for

the Gallic provinces after planning a deception to give the impression that he had been expelled by his son, so that he might join his son-in-law, Constantine, intending, however, if he should find the opportunity, to kill Constantine. The latter was ruling in the Gallic provinces with the great approbation of both the soldiers and the provincials after he had slaughtered the Franks and the Alamanni and captured their kings, whom he even threw to the beasts when he had provided a magnificent exhibition of games. Accordingly, when the plot had been uncovered by his daughter, Fausta, who had announced the deception to her husband, Herculus fled and was crushed at Marseilles (for he was preparing to sail from there to his son) and paid the penalty with a most fitting death. He was a man inclined to every kind of harshness and cruelty, faithless, perverse and utterly devoid of grace.⁹

- 4 During this time Licinius, a native of Dacia, was made emperor by Galerius, to whom he was known from long familiarity, and in the war which he had waged against Narses he had acted with vigour and performed his duties in an acceptable manner.¹⁰ The death of Galerius followed immediately. Thus the state was then controlled by four new emperors, by Constantine and Maxentius, sons of the Augusti, and by Licinius and Maximinus, new men.¹¹ In the fifth year of his reign, however, Constantine began a civil war against Maxentius, routed his forces in many battles and finally, while Maxentius was savagely persecuting the nobility of Rome in all manner of ways, he defeated him at the Milvian Bridge and gained possession of Italy.¹² In the East, too, not long afterwards Maximinus initiated hostilities against Licinius but forestalled his own imminent destruction by an accidental death at Tarsus.¹³
- 5 Constantine, however, a remarkable man who strove to achieve everything he had set his heart on, and had at the same time aspired to rule the whole world, made war on Licinius even though he was closely related to him by marriage, for his sister Constantia had married Licinius.¹⁴ First he overwhelmed him suddenly in Pannonia Secunda, while Licinius was making vast preparations for war at Cibalae, gained possession of the whole of Dardania, Moesia and Macedonia and occupied numerous other provinces.
- 6 Therefore there were various wars between them and peace was restored and broken. Finally Licinius, after being defeated at Nicomedia in a naval and land engagement, surrendered and, in

violation of the oath (taken by Constantine), was executed as a private individual at Thessalonica.¹⁵ At that time the Roman state was under one Augustus and three Caesars, which had never happened before, since the children of Constantine were governing Gaul, the East and Italy. But Constantine, made somewhat arrogant by his success, changed from his former agreeably mild temperament. First he persecuted his relatives and killed his son, an outstanding man, and his sister's son, subsequently his wife and afterwards numerous friends.¹⁶

- 7 He was a man who at the beginning of his reign was comparable to the best of rulers, in the last period to those of the middle rank. Innumerable mental and physical qualities sparkled in him. He was extremely eager for military glory, had good fortune in his wars, but not more than his diligence deserved, for after the civil war he also crushed the Goths in various encounters and after he had finally granted them peace he left a great regard for his memory among the barbarian nations. He was dedicated to civil arts and liberal studies and strove to earn affection which he sought for himself from everyone both through his generosity and through his gentleness, and just as he was suspicious towards some of his friends, in the same way he was outstanding to the rest since he neglected no opportunity to enrich or elevate them.¹⁷
- 8 He enacted many laws, some good and equitable but most of them superfluous and a few severe, and he was the first to endeavour to raise the city named after him to such a height as to make it rival Rome.¹⁸ As he was preparing for war against the Parthians who were already harassing Mesopotamia he died in the state villa at Nicomedia in the thirty-first year of his reign and the sixty-sixth year of his life. His death was also foretold by a star with a tail, one of extraordinary size which shone for some time. The Greeks call it a comet. And so he was deservedly enrolled among the gods.¹⁹
- 9 He left as his successors three sons and one son of his brother. But Dalmatius Caesar, a man of most promising character and not unlike his uncle, was overthrown shortly afterwards by a military insurrection which his cousin, Constantius, condoned rather than ordered.²⁰ Furthermore the generals of Constans executed Constantine who was waging war against his brother and had rashly made an attack at Aquileia. Thus the state was left to two

Augusti.²¹ The rule of Constans was for a time energetic and just. Subsequently, when he both fell prey to ill-health and associated with rather depraved friends he turned to serious vices, and when he became intolerable to the provincials and unpopular with the soldiers he was killed by Magnentius' faction. He died in a fortress named Helena, not far from the Spanish provinces, in the seventeenth year of his reign, the thirtieth of his life, after he had nevertheless performed very many military exploits energetically and had been feared by the army throughout the whole course of his life even though he did not resort to harsh cruelty.²²

- 10 Constantius' situation was different, for he suffered many serious setbacks at the hands of the Persians. His towns were often captured, his cities besieged, his armies cut to pieces, and he had no successful engagement with Sapor except that at Singara he lost a certain victory through the headstrong bravery of his soldiers who, contrary to the practice of war, mutinously and foolishly demanded to fight when the daylight was already failing.²³ After the death of Constans, when Magnentius controlled Italy, Africa and the Gauls, there was a rebellion even in Illyricum when Vetrano was chosen to rule through an agreement among the soldiers. They made him emperor when he was already an old man and popular with all on account of the length and success of his military service so that he might defend Illyricum. He was an honourable man, of old-fashioned morality and pleasant disposition, but so devoid of all refined learning that he did not even acquire the first rudiments of literature until he was an old man and already emperor.
- 11 But the imperial power was snatched from Vetrano by Constantius, who had provoked a civil war to avenge his brother's death. In a novel and extraordinary manner and with the agreement of the soldiers he was compelled to put aside his imperial insignia.²⁴ At Rome, too, there was an insurrection when Nepotianus, the son of Constantine's sister, assumed power with the aid of a band of gladiators, but he met with the sort of death he deserved for his savage undertaking, for on the twenty-eighth day he was crushed by the generals of Magnentius and paid the penalty. His head was carried through the city on a javelin and terrible proscriptions and massacres of the nobles ensued.²⁵
- 12 Not long afterwards Magnentius was overwhelmed in a battle at Mursa and almost captured. Vast forces of the Roman empire were

destroyed in that conflict, forces which were sufficient for any foreign wars and which might have provided many a triumph and much security. Subsequently Constantius appointed as Caesar in the East his uncle's son, Gallus, and Magnentius, who had been defeated in various battles, put an end to his life at Lyons in the third year and seventh month of his reign, as did his brother, too, at Sens, whom he had sent as Caesar to defend Gaul.²⁶

- 13 During these times Gallus Caesar was also executed by Constantius after committing many unreasonable acts. He was a naturally cruel man and excessively inclined to tyranny if he had been allowed to rule in his own right.²⁷ Silvanus, too, rebelled in Gaul and was killed before his thirtieth day (in power)²⁸ and at that time Constantius was the solid ruler and Augustus of the Roman empire.²⁹
- 14 Subsequently he sent Julian, his cousin and the brother of Gallus, to the Gallic provinces as Caesar, after giving him his sister in marriage, since the barbarians had stormed many towns, had besieged others, there was dreadful devastation everywhere and the Roman empire was already tottering to certain disaster. Julian, with only a modest force, overwhelmed vast numbers of Alamanni at Strasbourg, a city in Gaul, captured their most distinguished king and restored the Gallic provinces. Afterwards this same Julian performed many outstanding exploits against the barbarians, the Germans were driven back beyond the Rhine, and the Roman empire was restored to its original boundaries.³⁰
- 15 Not long after, when the German armies were withdrawing from the defence of the Gallic provinces, Julian was made Augustus with the consent of the soldiers and, after a year had elapsed, set out to seize possession of Illyricum while Constantius was occupied with campaigns against the Parthians. The latter, after learning of this, turned back to take up the civil war but died on the way between Cilicia and Cappadocia in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, the forty-fifth of his life, and was deservedly enrolled among the gods.³¹ He was a man of remarkably tranquil disposition, gentle, too trusting of his friends and companions and subsequently, too, excessively influenced by his wives. Nevertheless, in the first years of his reign he behaved with great moderation. He even enriched his companions and did not allow those whom he had tested with onerous duties to go unrewarded. On the other hand he was rather inclined to severity if any unrest over his rule were aroused,

otherwise he was lenient, and one should rather praise his fortunes in civil than in foreign wars.³²

- 16 Accordingly Julian took possession of the state and after vast preparations waged war against the Parthians. I was also a member of this expedition. He accepted the surrender of or forcibly seized several of their towns and fortresses, devastated Assyria, and for a time established a permanent camp at Ctesiphon. As he was returning victorious and mingling too rashly in the battles he was killed by the hand of an enemy on the twenty-sixth of June in the seventh year of his reign and the thirty-second of his life and was enrolled among the gods.³³ He was an outstanding man and would have governed the state remarkably well if the fates had allowed. He was highly accomplished in the liberal disciplines, but more learned in Greek literature to such an extent that his erudition in Latin was by no means comparable to his knowledge in Greek. He possessed a remarkable and quick eloquence, a most tenacious memory and in certain respects was more like a philosopher. Towards his friends he was generous, but less discriminating than befitted such a great emperor, for there were some who damaged his reputation. To the provincials he was extremely just and he reduced their taxes as much as he could. He was gracious to all, was only moderately concerned with the public treasury, was eager for glory and in this regard was generally disposed to be excessive. He persecuted the Christian religion too much, but nevertheless in such a manner that he abstained from bloodshed, and he was not unlike Marcus Aurelius, whom he even took pains to emulate.³⁴
- 17 After him Jovian, who was then serving as a *domesticus*, was chosen with the agreement of the army to obtain the supreme power, a man better known to the soldiers through his father's reputation than through his own.³⁵ In the current confusion, as the army was also suffering from lack of provisions and he had been defeated by the Persians in one or two battles, he made what was, in fact, a necessary but shameful peace with Sapor, for he was punished territorially and surrendered a certain portion of the Roman empire.³⁶ Before his time this had never happened in practically one thousand one hundred and eighteen years since the Roman empire had been founded. Indeed, although our legions were sent under the yoke at Caudium by Pontius Telesinus, and in Spain at Numantia, and in Numidia, nevertheless the result was that none of our territories was

surrendered. Those peace terms would not have been completely reprehensible if he had been willing to change the obligations of the treaty as soon as it was in his power, just as it was done by the Romans in all those wars which I have mentioned. For wars were immediately waged against both the Samnites and the Numantines and the Numidians and the peace was not ratified.³⁷ But as long as he feared a rival for the imperial power while he remained in the East, he showed insufficient concern for his reputation.³⁸ After embarking on the journey, as he was making for Illyricum, he died a sudden death on the borders of Galatia. At other times he was neither an incompetent nor an imprudent man.

- 18 Many believe that he was carried off by extreme indigestion (for he had indulged in rich food while dining), others [think that he died] from the odour of his bedroom which was dangerous to those sleeping in it because of a recent plastering of lime, some [felt he succumbed] to the excessive burning of charcoal which he had ordered to be burned in great amounts on account of the severe cold. He died in the seventh month of his reign on the seventeenth of February, in the thirty-third year of his life according to those who give the upper or lower limits, and, through the kindness of the emperors who succeeded him, he was enrolled among the gods, for he was both inclined to be gracious and was altogether generous by nature.³⁹

This was the state of the Roman empire in the consulship of that same Jovian and Varronianus in the one thousand one hundred and eighteenth year from the founding of the city.⁴⁰ However, because we have come to our renowned and venerable emperors⁴¹ we shall for the time being fix a limit to our work, for what remains must be told in a more elevated style. Right now we do not really omit these matters but rather reserve them for a more careful composition.⁴²

COMMENTARY
Book One

- 1 The Romans only began to write their history in c. 200 B.C., some three centuries after the end of the regal period. Since these works are no longer extant we must rely mainly on Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who wrote at the end of the first century B.C. For the foundation legends *vid.* Dion. Hal. I. 72-74; Livy. I. 1-7, Cicero, *de rep.* II. 3; 5-7; 10, 18; Plut. *Romul.* 12; Vell. Pat. I. 8; Solinus, I; Orosius, II. T.J. Cornell ("Aeneas and the Twins: the Development of the Roman Foundation Legend," *Proc. Cambr. Phil. Soc.*, 1976, 1) cogently argues that the story of Romulus and Remus was the original version of the founding of Rome. On the dating, which is identical to that of Festus, *vid.* Introduction and den Boer, *op. cit.*, 124-137. All dates are B.C. unless otherwise specified.
- 2 Livy (I. 7-9) notes the establishment of the senate of a hundred *patres* and of an asylum on the Capitoline for outlaws from the neighbouring peoples. He stresses the rough nature of Rome's early settlers.
- 3 Livy (I. 9-15) gives a fuller version and cites all of these peoples.
- 4 According to Livy (I. 16) Romulus was reviewing his troops on the Campus Martius when a storm arose and he disappeared. He was immediately deified. Some believed he had been killed by the senators with whom he was less popular than with the people.
- 5 On the *interregnum* of one year *vid.* Livy, I. 17.
- 6 Numa Pompilius, allegedly a Sabine from Cures although his name was Etruscan, reigned, according to tradition, from 715 to 673. He was believed to have reformed the calendar making it twelve (not ten) months long, and organized the priestly colleges (Livy, I. 18-21; Plut. *Numa*, 18-19; R.M. Ogilvie, *Commentary on Livy, Books I-V* (Oxford, 1965), 88, with bibliography). The following regnal dates are traditional.
- 7 Tullus Hostilius (673-642) destroyed Alba Longa and founded the *Curia Hostilia* (Livy, I. 22-31; Ogilvie, 105 ff.). His other wars may be apocryphal and narrated to explain his name.
- 8 Ancus Martius (642-616) increased the size of Rome and built the Pons Sublicius. He did not found the city of Ostia as Livy states, since traces of settlement do not antedate c. 350, but he did capture the salt pits nearby and probably established a settlement there (Livy,

- I. 32-35; Ogilvie, 125 ff.).
- 9 L. Tarquinius Priscus (616-579), the first Etruscan ruler of Rome, was supposedly the son of Demaratus of Corinth and probably came from Caere rather than Tarquinii. He established Etruscan families and customs at Rome and the public works attributed to him seem authentic, though there is confusion among the later sources regarding his achievements and those of Tarquinius Superbus (Livy, I. 33-41; Ogilvie, 145 ff.). The Roman Games which, together with the Plebeian Games, were the most important games at Rome, lasted from September 5th to the 19th. They were thought to go back to the time of Tarquinius Priscus but their regular celebration dates from 366 B.C. Dedicated to Jupiter they comprised a banquet in his honour, chariot racing and a ceremonial parade of mounted Equites.
 - 10 Servius Tullius (579-534) built a temple to Diana on the Aventine and concluded a treaty with the Latin League which was still kept in the temple in Augustan times. The tradition that he was the son of a handmaiden and built the walls of Rome have generally been rejected though he probably did have the ditches dug, as Eutropius states. His most important achievement was the holding of a census (*vid.* note 23) and the reorganization of Rome according to military units and property classes, which strengthened the monarchy against the nobility and advanced the interests of the middle class which provided Rome with legionary hoplites (Livy, I. 39-48; Ogilvie, 156 ff.; A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins*, Ann Arbor, 1965, 212 ff.; A. Momigliano, *J.R.S.* 53, 1963, 106 ff.; *J.R.S.* 57, 1967, 211 ff.). According to Livy (I. 44), who quotes Fabius Pictor, eighty-thousand citizens were enrolled and it was due to the pressure of population that the *pomerium* was enlarged to include the Quirinal, Viminal and Esquiline. For the alleged plot of Tarquinius and Tullia to murder their spouses, marry, and then kill Tullia's father Tullius *vid.* Livy, I. 46 ff. and Ogilvie, 185 ff.
 - 11 Tarquinius Superbus (534-510) built the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and constructed the *Cloaca Maxima* with the help of Etruscan engineers and labour. He defeated Gabii and Suessa Pometia and extended Roman power in Latium. According to legend his son Sextus violated Lucretia, wife of Tarquinius Collatinus, who informed her husband and committed suicide. L. Junius Brutus, supposedly the son of Tarquinius Superbus' sister, stirred up a rebellion among the people and the army and the king was refused

entry into Rome. He fled to Caere in Etruria to seek assistance in regaining his throne (Livy, I. 49-60; Ogilvie, 194 ff.). On Eutropius' topography and interest in milestones *vid. den Boer, op. cit.* 120-124. These data, which end in the Second Punic War, were either in Eutropius' copy of Livy's *Epitome* or in an additional source he used, but they may originally have come from Fabius Pictor who was clearly interested in numbers and concluded his history with the Second Punic War.

- 12 The traditional and generally accepted view is that when Tarquinius Superbus was expelled in a bloodless coup in 510 two annually elected magistrates, originally called praetors but subsequently called consuls, succeeded to his powers. For a succinct discussion with bibliography *vid. H.H. Scullard, A History of the Roman World 753-146 B.C.* 4th Edition (London, 1980), 462-465.
- 13 For the five consuls of 509 *vid. Scullard, op. cit.* 465-466. According to Livy (II. 2), Publius Valerius was the name of Collatinus' replacement. All but Brutus and Horatius Pulvillus may be apocryphal.
- 14 Veii and Tarquinii, in support of Tarquinius, fought the Romans at Silva Arsia in an indecisive engagement during which Brutus and Arruns killed each other. But since the forces of Veii and Tarquinii dispersed during the night the Romans claimed the victory (Livy, II. 6-7).
- 15 Lars Porsenna of Clusium, though repelled accorded to tradition (Livy, II. 9.15), actually captured Rome (Tac. *Hist.* III. 72). It seems unlikely that he was assisting Tarquinius since he did not restore him. His stay in Rome was brief and his forces were defeated in c. 506 by the Latins and Aristodemus of Cumae (Dion. Hal. VII. 5-6).
- 16 Tarquinius found refuge with his son-in-law, Mamilius Octavus of Tusculum who, according to tradition, persuaded the Latins to fight the Romans at Lake Regillus in 496. It is more likely that Tarquinius was not involved in this new rivalry. He died at Cumae under the protection of Aristodemus, probably in 495.
- 17 Cf. Livy, II. 16, who gives the consuls as M. Valerius and P. Postumius. i.e. 505.
- 18 According to Livy (II. 16) Publius Valerius died in the consulship of Menenius Agrippa and Publius Postumius (503), i.e. in the seventh year after the expulsion of the kings. The other details are the same as those in Eutropius. Publius Valerius had been consul, according

to the *Fasti*. in 509, 508, 507 and 504. For further details *vid.* Plutarch, *Poplicola*.

- 19 Cf. Livy, II. 18, whose dating (501) coincides with that of Eutropius. In times of military emergencies the dual command of the praetors/consuls had obvious weaknesses. To offset them an emergency officer, originally called the *magister populi* and subsequently dictator, was created. He was nominated by a consul and, in turn, nominated a second-in-command (*magister equitum*). Though he did not replace them his powers superseded those of the praetors/consuls as is indicated by the fact that he had twenty-four lictors whereas the king or praetors/consuls only had twelve. According to tradition T. Larcus was the first *magister populi* (dictator), Spurius Cassius Vecellinus, consul of the preceding year was the first *magister equitum*. The dictator held office for a maximum of six months, i.e. a campaigning season, and retired when his task had been completed. Cf. Ogilvie, 281f. The dictatorships of Sulla and Caesar were quite different in character and scope, for the earlier dictators were appointed *rei gerundae causa*, i.e. to deal with a particular crisis, Sulla (and Caesar) were appointed *legibus scribundis et rei publicae constituendae*, i.e. to write laws and administer the state. This personal interjection by Eutropius is incorrect in one particular. Augustus never held the dictatorship, though by virtue of his *maius imperium proconsulare* and *tribunicia potestas* (23) he obtained virtual dictatorial powers. Shortly after Caesar's death Antony proposed and carried the abolition of the dictatorship (R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford, 1939, 107), yet in 22 it was offered to and refused by Augustus during the crisis caused by the flooding of the Tiber (*Res Gestae*, 5; Dio, 54.1.1 ff., Syme, *ibid.*, 339). In this personal comment Eutropius' clear belief that Augustus had held the dictatorship seems to stem from his own misunderstanding of Augustus' powers. Suetonius states unequivocally that Augustus refused the dictatorship (*Aug.* 51). I do not consider that Eutropius equated the *quasi* dictatorial powers of the triumvirs with the dictatorship, for which *vid.* Syme, *ibid.* 3.
- 20 The first secession of the plebeians (to *Mons Sacra*) occurred in 494, according to tradition. They were persuaded to return by Menenius Agrippa (*cos.* 503) through an agreement whereby their officers, the tribunes of the plebs, were recognized by the senate (Livy, II. 32; Ogilvie, 309 ff.). Following a precedent set by Augustus probably

- in 23 B.C. Valentinian and Valens still included the *tribunicia potestas* in their imperial nomenclature.
- 21 In 493 the Romans captured the Volscian towns of Longula, Polusca and Corioli. According to tradition Cn. Marcius Coriolanus, who captured Corioli, was afterwards expelled from Rome for opposing the distribution of grain to the starving plebeians. He led a Volscian army against Rome, supposedly in 491, but after succumbing to the entreaties of his mother and wife he turned back and was executed by the Volsci (Livy, II. 33 ff.; Dion. Hal. VII. 1-59; Ogilvie, 314 ff.).
 - 22 In 479, according to tradition, the whole Fabian *gens*, with the exception of one boy, was destroyed on the Cremera. This is supported by the fact that although a Fabian had held one of the consulships each year from 485 to 479 no Fabian held office for the next eleven years (Livy, II. 46 ff.; Scullard, *op. cit.*, 474).
 - 23 On the early census figures *vid.* T. Frank "Roman Census Statistics from 508-225 B.C.", *A.J.P.* LI (1930), 313 ff.; P.A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower* (Oxford, 1971), 27 ff. Supposedly those prior to 392 included men, women and children: they are rejected by Brunt.
 - 24 It was traditionally in 458 that the consul Minucius was defeated by the Aequi at Mt. Algidus and the Roman army saved by a relief force under L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, the dictator, who resigned after sixteen days (Livy, III. 26-29). The account was probably embellished by later annalists (Ogilvie, 416 ff.). Four *iugera* equals 2.8 acres or 1.134 hectares. The *toga praetexta* was the purple-bordered *toga* of curule magistrates, i.e. consuls, praetors and dictators, who possessed *imperium*.
 - 25 In 451 ten patrician commissioners were appointed to collect and publish on tablets in the Forum the most important rules of Roman customary law which had previously been confined to patrician *pontifices*. The process took two years, during which the regular constitution was suspended. The XII Tables were never abolished and at least until Cicero's day were learned by heart by schoolboys. In later years much in them became obsolete but some fundamentals remained until Justinian's codification (A.D. 529-534). In general *vid.* H.F. Jolowicz and B. Nicholas, *A Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law* (Cambridge, 1972), 108 ff. The consuls-elect, Appius Claudius and T. Genucius were in some sources placed at the head of the decemvirate. According to tradition Appius Claudius acted tyrannically and Verginia was killed by her father to save her

- from Claudius' lust. A second secession of the plebians occurred, the decemvirs abdicated, constitutional government was restored, ten tribunes were appointed and two consuls elected for 449. The story of Verginia should probably be rejected as fable (Ogilvie, 451 ff.).
- 26 According to Livy Fidenae was captured in 435 and again, after revolting, in 425 (Livy, IV. 21 ff.; IV. 31.6 ff.). The former capture is generally rejected as a duplication. Lars Tolumnius, King of Veii, was killed by Aulus Cornelius Cossus, in 426 or 425. Cossus, one of four military tribunes with consular power, nominated Mamercus Aemilius for the dictatorship and was then appointed *magister equitum*. It was in the following year that L. Quinctius Cincinnatus was appointed one of the four military tribunes (Ogilvie, 453 ff.). Eutropius' chronological and other errors were probably caused by the telescoping of events, either by his source or by himself, and the fact that an officer named T. Quinctius played a major role in the operations.
- 27 In c. 405, according to tradition, Rome began a ten year siege of Veii. This may have been magnified to equal that of Troy by the Greeks. In 396 M. Furius Camillus, the dictator, captured Veii but was subsequently exiled to Ardea for misappropriating the booty (Livy, V. 1-23; Ogilvie, 626 ff.). Falisci was the name of the inhabitants of Falerii, not the town, which lay north of Veii.
- 28 By the beginning of the fourth century the Gallic Insubres had occupied much of Lombardy and the Boii and Senones had penetrated Italy south of the Po. In 391 a mixed group of Gallic marauders under the Senonian chief Brennus invaded Etruria and menaced Clusium. The following summer the Romans and some Latin allies met the Gauls on the banks of the Allia, a tributary of the Tiber, and were overwhelmed (Livy, V. 7; Dion. Hal. V. 114; Plut. *Camillus* 18). Allegedly the Gauls had between 30,000 and 70,000 men, the Romans only 15,000. By not pressing the attack the Gauls gave the Romans time to fortify the Capitol, but the rest of the city was devastated. The Romans on the Capitol held out for several months, then surrendered. A ransom of gold was paid and the Gauls departed. According to legend Camillus returned from exile in Veii with a force of Latins and Romans and twice defeated the Gauls on their way home. This story was invented to counterbalance Rome's ignominious defeat and capture. Cf. Livy, V. 33 ff.; Diod. XIV. 113-117; Plut. *Camillus*. 14-30; Dion. Hal. I. 74; XIII. 6-10; Polyb. I. 6;

II. 14-18; Dio, VII. 25; Ogilvie, 669 ff.

- 29 Cf. Livy, V. 49 ff. In addition to defeating the Gauls, Camillus persuaded the Romans not to abandon Rome, which had been devastated, and move to Veii, and he was chiefly responsible for the reconstruction of the city.

Book Two

- 1 After the *Lex Canuleia* of 445 had repealed a statute in the XII Tables prohibiting intermarriage between patricians and plebeians, Canuleius' fellow tribunes proposed that the consulship should be open to plebeians. The senate responded by decreeing that three military tribunes with consular powers should replace the consuls and possibly one of those elected for 444 was a plebeian, but prior to 400 plebeian representation was minimal. They were in office for only three months (Livy, IV. 1-7). Nevertheless in all but 22 years between 444 and 367 military tribunes were in office. Scullard (*op. cit.*, 471) discusses this matter and provides bibliography. It was July 1st, 392 that the consuls fell ill and were replaced by six military tribunes, and consuls were not elected again until 366 (Livy, V, 31-32). According to Livy (VI. 2-3) Camillus was reappointed dictator in 389 and defeated the Volsci (after seventy years of war) and the Aequi, and ejected the Etruscans from Sutrium (a Roman ally) which they had just captured. The chronology is confused and there are duplications.
- 2 Supposedly Praeneste, a Latin city 23 miles S.E. of Rome, sent an army to the Colline Gate causing the Romans to nominate T. Quinctius Cincinnatus as dictator. The Praenestini withdrew to the Allia where they were defeated. Eight of their dependent towns were captured (Livy, VI. 28-29). Again the chronology is confused both in Livy and in Eutropius.
- 3 From 375-372 the tribunes of the plebs, Licinius and Sextius, refused to allow military tribunes or consuls to be elected. From 370-367 military tribunes were again elected (Livy, VI. 35 ff.). In 367 the Licinian-Sextian rogations allowed for one of the consuls to be plebeian and in 366 L. Sextius was the first plebeian to be elected consul (Livy, VI. 42), a fact omitted by Eutropius, but stressed by Livy.
- 4 In 365 L. Genucius was the first plebeian consul to wage a war.

Camillus died of the plague which was then raging at Rome (Livy, VII. 1).

- 5 In 361 the Gauls invaded the Alban Hills in one of many sorties. T. Quinctius Pennus was appointed dictator and T. Manlius Torquatus supposedly slew a gigantic Gaul, seized his collar and earned himself the *cognomen* Torquatus (Livy, VII. 9-10.). The story may well be an aetiological myth. In 358 C. Sulpicius the dictator again defeated the Gauls (Livy, VII. 12-15). C. Marcius Rutilus (not Tuscus) was dictator in 356 and he defeated the Tarquinians and Faliscans and led 8,000 of them in his triumph (Livy, VII. 17). The Gauls were again defeated in 350 in Latium by the plebeian consul M. Popilius Laenas (Livy, VII. 23-24). The *cognomen* was the last name of a Roman male who wished to distinguish himself from others possessing the same first name (*praenomen*) and family name (*nomen*). It usually indicated a physical or mental quality, occupation, office or special achievement.
- 6 In 349 Gallic raiding parties and Greek pirates compelled the Romans to demand Latin troops, but the Latins refused. The Romans raised ten legions of 4,500 men each. One of the consuls, Appius Claudius, died, leaving the command to L. Furius Camillus, the other consul (Livy, VII. 25).
- 7 For the story of M. Valerius Corvus cf. Livy, VII. 26 ff.; Val. Max. VIII. 13.1; VIII. 15.5; App. *Gall.* 10; B. *Civ.* III. 88; Aul. Gell. IX. 11; Zon. VII. 25; *De vir ill.* 29. Eutropius is the only author to state that the crow settled on Valerius' right hand (Pirogoff, *op. cit.*, in Intro., n.132, 54). Ammianus (24.4.5) also employs Torquatus (note 5) and Corvus as heroic *exempla*.
- 8 According to Livy (VIII. 3 ff.) it was in 340, during the consulship of T. Manlius Torquatus and P. Decius Mus, that the Latins demanded that one consul and half the senate should be chosen from them. In the subsequent war the Romans emerged as victors partly due to the *devotio* of P. Decius Mus. There is no mention of statues for 340 in Livy, but he does note that statues were erected for L. Furius Camillus and C. Maenius in 338 (VIII. 13). The error, due to compression, probably occurred in the *Epitome*, though Eutropius may have been responsible. Livy observes that the foundation of Alexandria took place in 326 (VIII. 24) the year in which the Second Samnite War broke out, and Eutropius, following the *Epitome*, repeats this. Alexandria was actually founded c. the beginning of

331. (P. Fraser, *Opuscula Atheniensi*, Lund, 1967, 30; A.B. Bosworth, *C.Q.* XXVI, 1976, 136-138).
- 9 It was in 325 that L. Papirius Cursor was appointed dictator, Q. Fabius Maximus his *magister equitum*. The conflict between them is given in full by Livy (VIII. 30-35). Their period of office lasted through 324.
 - 10 In 321 the Romans suffered one of their worst disasters. An army of 20,000 men marched from near Capua to cross the Apennines into Apulia. Trapped by the Samnites in a narrow defile called the Caudine Forks it was compelled to capitulate. The Samnites exacted a humiliating treaty. Fregellae and other Roman posts and six hundred Roman equestrians were surrendered and the Roman soldiers were forced to pass under a yoke of spears wearing only their tunics. The treaty lasted for five years. (Livy, IX. 1 ff.).
 - 11 The Romans used the following five years to reorganize and augment their army. In 316 they repudiated the treaty and the next year they renewed hostilities. Although the Samnites had won an initial victory at Lautulae the Romans drove them from Tarracina and recaptured Capua in 315. That same year the consul L. Papirius Cursor captured Luceria and sent seven thousand Samnite soldiers under the yoke. For this achievement he celebrated a triumph (Livy, IX. 15).
 - 12 In 312 Appius Claudius Caecus, as censor, built Rome's first aqueduct and the first Italian all-weather highway between Rome and Capua (Livy, IX. 29). The former was nearly 8 miles long and mostly underground, the latter was 132 miles in length and became Rome's principal road to southern Italy.
 - 13 In the Third Samnite War (298-290), the consul of 292, Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges, suffered losses and the senate considered relieving him of his command, but his father promised to serve under him and the senate agreed. He was then successful against Gavius Pontius, the Samnite general who had defeated the Romans at the Caudine Forks, and was awarded a triumph. This story is probably fiction, suggested by a similar account of 213 when Fabius Cunctator served as his son's legate (Livy, *Epi.* XI, 24.4; E.T. Salmon, *Samnium and the Samnites*, Cambridge, 1967). A legate was the senior member of a Roman general's military staff at this time. He had to be of senatorial status and was often of consular rank.
 - 14 In 290, with their territory devastated, the Samnites sued for peace. They ceded some territory and were compelled to become allies of

- Rome with concomitant obligations (Livy, *Epit.* XI; Salmon, *op. cit.*, 277). The Samnite Wars had lasted from 343 to 290.
- 15 In 284-283 the Gallic Boii, observing the destruction of the lands of the Senones by Curius Dentatus, invaded Etruria and together with an Etruscan contingent marched within fifty miles of Rome. They were defeated by P. Cornelius Dolabella near Lake Vadimo (Polyb. II. 18-19; F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* 3 vols., Oxford, 1957-1979, I, 188 ff.; J.H. Corbett, *Historia* XX, 1971, 656 ff.; M.G. Morgan, *C.Q.* n.s. 22, 1972, 309).
 - 16 The Tarentines had sunk four Roman ships and captured a fifth near their harbour in 282. The following year Rome asked for modest reparations, but her envoys were mistreated and war commenced in 280. For details *vid.* Salmon, *op. cit.*, 281 ff.
 - 17 Pyrrhus (319-272), King of Epirus, arrived at Tarentum in 280 with an army of 25,000 men and twenty elephants. That year he defeated the Romans under P. Valerius Laevinus at Heraclea and detached several Greek cities as well as the Samnites, Lucanians and Bruttii. He then marched to Praeneste in order to cause further defections and force a favourable peace treaty, but harassed by two Roman armies he was compelled to withdraw to Campania. Much of what follows in his campaigns is interlarded with Roman patriotic fiction and consequently untrustworthy in details (Livy *Epit.* XII-XVII; Plut. *Pyrrhus*, 15 ff.; P. Lévêque, *Pyrrhos*, Paris, 1957).
 - 18 Cf. Livy, *Epit.* XIII.
 - 19 The Romans severely punished soldiers guilty of cowardice in face of the enemy (*infamia*). Whole units were paraded in front of their legion and every tenth man was selected by lot and cudgelled, often to death. The rest were put on rations of barley instead of wheat and compelled to erect their tents outside the camp. They were also demoted, cavalry to infantry, infantry to slingers etc. (Tac. *Ann.* XIII. 36; Val. Max. II. 7.15). In 279 at Asculum in Picenum Pyrrhus won a second victory over the Romans under P. Sulpicius Saverrio and P. Decius Mus. The victory was so expensive that Pyrrhus is said to have exclaimed that another such victory would be fatal to him. Pyrrhus' losses are inflated by Eutropius (following his source), those of the Romans minimized (Plut. *Pyrrhus*, 21.9). For subsequent negotiations *vid.* Lévêque, *op. cit.* 341 ff.; 404 ff.
 - 20 For C. Fabricius Luscinus (cos. 282) and the story of the traitorous physician *vid.* Plut. *Pyrrhus*, 21.1-3.

- 21 Pyrrhus sailed for Sicily in the autumn of 278 and campaigned there until autumn 276 (Plut. *Pyrrhus*, 22.3 ff.; Livy, *Epit.* XIV).
- 22 In 275 Manius Curius Dentatus met Pyrrhus at Malventum (Beneventum) and withstood his attack, allowing the other consul, Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus, to threaten to outflank the king. Pyrrhus was forced to withdraw to Tarentum. The following year he left Italy and was killed two years later in street fighting in Argos (Plut. *Pyrrhus*, 25.1 ff.; 34.2; Livy, *Epit.* XIV).
- 23 It was in 273 when C. Fabius Licinus and C. Claudius Canina were consuls (by the reckoning of Eutropius, or rather his source, the year would be 233), that Ptolemy II of Egypt recognized Rome's emergence as a "great power" by requesting and gaining a grant of *amicitia* or diplomatic recognition (Dion. Hal. XX. 14.1; Zon. VIII. 6.11.).
- 24 The Picentes lived across the Apennines east of Rome and had been bound to Rome by treaty from 299. After a brief but bitter struggle (269-268) a group of them was relocated near Salerno and Paestum in what had previously been Lucanian territory (Livy, *Epit.* XV).
- 25 Ariminum (Rimini) on the Adriatic in Gallia Cispadana became a Latin colony in 268 (Livy, *Epit.* XV; Vell. Pat. I. 14). Beneventum was originally called Malventum and was a fortress town in the territory of the Hirpini Samnites. In 268 it, too, became a Latin colony but the Romans changed its unpropitious name (Livy, *Epit.* XV; Vell. Pat. I. 14; Festus, 25).
- 26 In 267 (Livy, *Epit.* XV).
- 27 Cf. Livy, *Epit.* XVI. Eutropius' dating (277) is again incorrect.
- 28 In 264 a band of Campanian adventurers, the Mamertini, who had seized Messana and used the Carthaginians to compel Hiero, King of Syracuse (not Sicily) to abandon his siege, then appealed to Rome to rid themselves of the Carthaginians. Carthage and Syracuse joined forces to oust the Mamertini but were compelled to withdraw by a Roman consular army under Appius Claudius. (Polyb. I. 11-12; 15; Livy, *Epit.* XVI). According to Walbank (*Polybius*, I. 66) Eutropius invented Appius Claudius' triumph.
- 29 In 263 Manius Valerius invested Syracuse but, realizing the futility of besieging such a strongly fortified city, shrewdly made peace with Hiero and detached him from his alliance with the Carthaginians for a small indemnity of 100 talents. For this diplomatic victory Valerius assumed the *cognomen* Messalla and celebrated a triumph

- in 262 (Polyb. I. 16).
- 30 Agrigentum was captured from the Carthaginians in 262 and marked a turning point in the war (Polyb. I. 20.1-2; Walbank, *Polybius* I, 72f.).
 - 31 In 261 the Romans realized that in order to drive the Carthaginians from Sicily they needed a navy. A Carthaginian warship which had run aground and fallen into Roman hands provided them with a model from which they constructed a fleet of about 120 quinqueremes and 20 triremes. After several months of dry land practice and sea manoeuvres using boarding bridges known as "crows" (*corvi*), the Romans were prepared to face the Carthaginian fleet (Polyb. I. 20-21; Scullard, *op. cit.*, 489) Liburnians were light warships used by the Liburni of Illyria and subsequently copied by the Romans (Appian, *Illyr.*, 3). Eutropius commits an anachronism here.
 - 32 Also noted in Polyb. I. 21.
 - 33 In 260, near Mylae on the north coast of Sicily, C. Duillius with a fleet of 140 warships met a slightly smaller but more experienced Carthaginian fleet of 130 ships and, with the help of the *corvi* and new tactics won a decisive battle. Fifty Punic ships were lost. Duillius celebrated a triumph and received a commemorative column in the Forum (Polyb. I. 23; Livy, *Epit.* XVII).
 - 34 The following year L. Cornelius Scipio captured Corsica but failed at Olbia in Sardinia. These operations had little effect on the outcome of the war. Cf. Livy, *Epit.* XVII.
 - 35 In 256 near Cape Ecnomus off the south coast of Sicily a Roman fleet of 330 ships defeated a slightly smaller Punic fleet, capturing fifty and sinking twenty-four, with the loss of only twenty-four Roman ships (Polyb. I. 28; Livy, *Epit.* XVII).
 - 36 The Romans, now in control of the sea, landed unopposed at Clupea (Aspis) on Cape Bon and captured the city (Polyb. I. 29).
 - 37 Regulus achieved several easy victories, causing the Carthaginians to sue for peace (Polyb. I. 30; Livy, *Epit.* XVIII).
 - 38 Cf. Polyb. I. 31.
 - 39 By the spring of 255 the Spartan mercenary general Xanthippus had reorganized and trained the Carthaginian army and he then forced the Romans under Regulus to give battle in the valley of the Bagradas. Here he completely routed the Romans and captured Regulus (Polyb. I. 32-34; Livy, *Epit.* XVIII).

- 40 In the summer of that year a Roman fleet of 350 ships met a smaller Carthaginian fleet off Cape Hermaeum and captured 114 ships and their crews, according to Polybius (I. 36). The Romans then rescued the 2,000 Roman survivors of the Bagradas defeat, who had retreated to Clupea, and sailed for home.
- 41 Between Camarina and Cape Pachynus a terrific storm sank all but 80 of the 364 Roman and captured Carthaginian ships (Polyb. I. 37). Eutropius' figure of 464 actually tallies with the earlier figures given by Polybius of an initial fleet of 350 augmented by 114 captured. Both Eutropius (or his source) and Polybius are guilty of transmission errors.
- 42 According to Polybius (I. 38) 220 ships were ready by 254 and he, too, stresses the resolve of the Romans.
- 43 Caepio and Blaesus made a number of raids along the Libyan coast in 253 without achieving anything significant. On the voyage from Panormus (Palermo) to Rome they encountered another terrible storm and lost 150 ships (Polyb. I. 39).
- 44 This is also the number given by Polybius (I. 39).
- 45 C. Furius Pacilus, not Placidus.
- 46 In 251 Metellus defeated Hasdrubal outside Panormus and killed or captured the whole of the Carthaginian elephant corps. The survivors were subsequently paraded at Rome (Polyb. I. 40; Livy, *Epit.* XIX).
- 47 The story of Regulus became a national epic (Livy, *Epit.* XVIII; Hor. *Od.* III. 5), but Polybius does not mention it (Walbank, *Polybius*, I. 92 ff.) and it is generally but not universally rejected. Possibly the account of him being tortured to death by the Carthaginians was invented to counter the story that his widow tortured some Carthaginian prisoners at Rome. Cf. T. Frank, *Cl. Ph.* XXI, 1926, 311 ff.; E.R. Mix, *Marcus Atilius Regulus, Exemplum Historicum*, The Hague, 1970.
- 48 In 249 Claudius Pulcher attacked Drepana and was thoroughly defeated by the Punic commander, Adherbal. According to Polybius (I. 51) thirty Roman ships escaped, ninety-three were captured. Cf. Livy, *Epit.* XIX. The other Roman consul, L. Junius Pullus, was forced by the Carthaginians to anchor his fleet near Cape Passaro where a storm, which the Carthaginians had foreseen, destroyed it. Nevertheless the consul managed to save most of his men and subsequently seized the town of Eryx (Polyb. I. 54-55). Claudius is reported to have disregarded the unfavourable auspices of the sacred

chickens refusing to eat. Supposedly he said "Well, let them drink," and threw them overboard. The story is not in Polybius. Roman military expeditions carried with them sacred chickens which were observed by official diviners called augurs. If the chickens ate in such a way that they dropped some food from their mouths it was considered a favourable omen. Other signs (auspices), usually from birds, were also used by the augurs.

- 49 In 242 the Roman senate, by means of forced loans upon its members, had managed to fit out a fleet of 200 light quinqueremes, based upon a Rhodian model. That summer C. Lutatius Catulus sailed his fleet to Drepana and Lilybaeum to aid in besieging the two Punic strongholds. The Carthaginians hastily equipped a fleet of 170 to 200 vessels to resupply their men there and embark soldiers for a naval battle. But on March 10th 241, off the Aegates Islands, they were met by the Romans, who had anticipated their plans, and, hampered by their cargoes of supplies and lacking equipment and marines, they were rapidly and severely beaten. The Romans sank 50 Punic ships and captured 70 others (Polyb. I. 59-61; Livy, *Epit.* XIX).
- 50 For the peace treaty *vid.* Polyb. I. 62-63; Livy, *Epit.* XIX.
- 51 The Falisci, who lived north of Veii, rebelled and were defeated in six days in 241 and their hilltop capital, Falerii, was destroyed. Its inhabitants were transferred to Falerii Novi on the plain three miles to the west. Half their territory was annexed as *ager publicus* (Livy, *Epit.* XX).

Book Three

- 1 The Third Syrian War between Ptolemy III of Egypt and Antiochus II of Syria broke out in 246. That year Antiochus died and was succeeded by Seleucus II. After early successes Ptolemy was forced to relinquish his Asiatic conquests but he retained the Syrian coast up to Seleucia-on-the-Orontes. Peace was signed in 241.
- 2 Hiero became a Roman ally in 263 and remained loyal until his death in 215, providing the Romans with assistance regularly. His final gifts of grain occurred in 216 prior to the battle of Cannae (Polyb. I. 16; Livy, *Epit.* XVI; Livy, XXII. 37). This is the only mention of him visiting Rome in 237.
- 3 In 237 a force of Ligurians and Boii marched on Ariminum but the

appearance of a Roman army caused them to fight among themselves, giving the Romans an easy triumph. Lentulus captured certain Ligurian strongholds near the Arno but several further skirmishes occurred down to 230. Cf. Polyb. II. 21 ff.; Livy, *Epit.* XX.

- 4 In 239 the Romans refused an offer by the mutinous Carthaginian garrison of mercenaries on Sardinia to hand over the island. The following year, however, totally without provocation by Carthage, the Romans accepted a second overture and landed on the island. Carthage protested and suggested arbitration, but the Romans declared war and Carthage was compelled to give up Sardinia and Corsica, though the latter was not mentioned in the agreement, and pay a further indemnity of 1200 talents (Polyb. I. 88; App. *Lib.* 5; *Iber.* 4; Livy, *Epit.* XX). Polybius frankly condemns the Romans for this unjust act (Polyb. III. 28).
- 5 In 235 the Romans closed the gates of the Temple of Janus in the Forum. According to Livy (I. 19.2) Numa had built this temple as a visible sign of the alternations of peace and war. When its twin gates (*Janus* means gate) were open it signified that Rome was at war. If the gates were closed it denoted that all wars against neighbouring peoples had been successfully concluded. The two-headed god Janus was the *numen* of doors, gates, arches and good beginnings, and his month, January, began the year from 153.
- 6 An Illyrian chieftain called Agron had united the tribes of Illyria along the Adriatic. His widow, Teuta, refused a Roman request to stop piracy against South Italy and Roman merchantmen. In 229 Fulvius Centumalus and Postumius Albinus, in a concerted naval and land operation, captured Corcyra, Apollonia and other cities, reduced Teuta's kingdom and forced her to pay a substantial tribute (Polyb. II. 2-12; Livy, *Epit.* XX).
- 7 In 225 the Romans and their allies were able to field 770,000 men, according to Polybius (II. 24). The Gauls allegedly invaded Italy with an army of 170,000 (Polyb. II. 23). For the war and the Battle of Telamon *vid.* Polyb. II. 25-31; Livy, *Epit.* XX. The information furnished by Polybius, Livy and Eutropius (via the *epit.* of Livy) derives from Q. Fabius Pictor's *History of Rome* (*vid.* introduction). He is the only authority cited by Eutropius.
- 8 In 222 at Clastidium Marcellus won a decisive victory, killing in single combat Viridomarus, a Gallic chieftain, for which he won the

spolia opima for the last time in Roman history. Milan was subsequently captured by the two consuls (Polyb. II. 34; Plut. *Marcell.* 7; Livy, *Epi.* XX). The *spolia opima* were spoils of war offered by a Roman general who had killed an enemy commander in single combat.

- 9 In 221 Demetrius of Pharos, a Roman ally, possibly believing Rome was too busy with Carthage over Saguntum, resumed his piratical ways. He was crushed by a Roman fleet in 219. (Polyb. III. 16-19; Livy, *Epi.* XX).
- 10 It was in 221 that the 25 year old Hannibal assumed command of the Carthaginian forces in Spain. (Polyb. III, 11; 13; Livy, XXI. 1 ff.; Nepos, *Hann.* 3). That year Saguntum, a Spanish city south of the River Ebro, which marked the limit of Carthaginian expansion agreed upon by Rome and Carthage, had trouble with the Tarboletae, a tribe subject to Carthage, and appealed to Rome to arbitrate an internal dispute. Roman envoys visited Hannibal in 220-219 and ordered him not to interfere, having sided themselves with the pro-Roman faction at Saguntum. Hannibal disregarded the Roman warning and besieged Saguntum in spring 219, capturing it after eight months. Rome then demanded the surrender of Hannibal, which was refused, and in March, 218 Rome declared war (Polyb. III, 15 ff.; Livy, XXI. 5 ff.). Because of his need for compression Eutropius condenses three years' events into one year. The error over Hannibal's age probably occurred in transmission but Eutropius or his source may have been influenced by the fact that Alexander and Augustus both came to positions of power at the age of nineteen.
- 11 Polybius (III, VII-XV) and Livy (XXI-XXX) are the main sources for the Second Punic War. Neither Polybius (III. 50-56) nor Livy (XXI. 31-37) offers sufficient details to confirm which Alpine pass Hannibal used.
- 12 For Hannibal's army *vid.* Polyb. III. 35; Livy, XXI. 23, who state that Hannibal initially had 90,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry. He left Hanno with 10,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry, and similar forces were sent to their own lands. Together with 50,000 infantry and 9,000 cavalry he marched through the Pyrenees. The numbers do not tally and were probably inflated.
- 13 *Vid.* Livy XXI. 38. He arrived in Italy with 20,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry from his original army (Polyb. III. 56).
- 14 In autumn 218, on the Ticinus, a tributary of the Po (Polyb. III. 64-

- 66; Livy, XXI. 49 ff.).
- 15 In December, 218 the combined consular armies were soundly beaten by Hannibal on the left bank of the Trebia near Placentia (Piacenza). Cf. Polyb. III. 71 ff.; Livy, XXI. 52 ff. All but one of his elephants died of the cold.
 - 16 In 217, between Lake Trasimene and the mountains of central Etruria, Hannibal ambushed and annihilated a Roman army under C. Flaminius. 15,000 Romans and allies were killed, including Flaminius, and a similar number was captured (Polyb. III. 82-84; Livy, XXII. 4-7).
 - 17 Quintus Fabius Maximus Cunctator was elected dictator after the disaster at Trasimene and pursued a policy of avoiding pitched battles while harassing Hannibal's army. As consul in 214 he helped to recover Casilium and in 209, as consul for the fifth time, he recovered Tarentum. It was his policy which made Scipio's subsequent successes possible (Polyb. III. 87 ff.; Livy, XXII. 8 ff.; XXIII. 19; XXVII. 15-16).
 - 18 Eutropius, or rather his source, is two years out in his reckoning; L. Aemilius Paulus and C. Terentius Varro were consuls in 216. Polybius (III. 118) places the battle of Cannae at the end of the 140th Olympiad (220-216).
 - 19 In August, 216, near the village of Cannae on the banks of the Aufidus River (Ofanto) in Apulia, Hannibal inflicted another humiliating defeat on the larger Roman army arrayed against him (Polyb. III. 112-117; Livy, XXII. 45-49). Livy's figures for Roman losses are similar to, but not the same as those given by Eutropius. For this and other problems *vid.* Walbank, *Polybius* I, 435 ff. Polybius states that 5,700 of Hannibal's troops died, Livy gives 8,000.
 - 20 Livy, XXII. 61; cf. Polyb. III. 118.9.
 - 21 Livy, XXII. 57.
 - 22 Polyb. III. 118.2-3; Livy, XXII. 61.
 - 23 Livy, XXII. 56 ff.
 - 24 Livy (XXIII. 12) states that some authorities give three *modii* but one *modius* is more likely. Livy's epitomator probably cited only the first figure and was followed by Eutropius. A *modius* is just under a peck or nine litres.
 - 25 In 218 Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio seized Tarraco (Tarragona). The following year he defeated Hasdrubal in a sea battle off the mouth of

the Ebro. His brother Publius then arrived with reinforcements and they moved south to camp near Saguntum. In 215 Hasdrubal was reinforced by Carthage but his counteroffensive was broken at Dertosa on the Ebro (Polyb. III. 95-99; X. 2-20; 34-40; Livy, XXII. 19-20; XXIII. 28-29; XXIV. 41-42).

- 26 In 215 and 214 Marcellus beat off two attempts by Hannibal to capture Nola, even though Capua and most of southern Italy had gone over to the Carthaginians (Livy, XXIII. 14-16; XXIV. 17).
- 27 For the treaty *vid.* Polyb. VII. 9; Livy XXIII. 33-34; Walbank, *Polybius* II. 42 ff.
- 28 In 215 a revolt in Sardinia encouraged the Carthaginians to send a small force to seize the island (Livy XXIII. 34).
- 29 Livy, XXIII. 40-41. Sardinia was a major supplier of grain to Rome.
- 30 Livy, XXIV. 40. In 214 M. Valerius Laevinus, the praetor, defeated Philip at Apollonia and forced him to burn his ships.
- 31 In 212 the Scipios defeated three Carthaginian armies at the Mount of Victory, subsequently captured Castulo and Illiturgis, and again beat the Carthaginians at Munda, Auringis and Saguntum (Livy, XXIV. 41-42).
- 32 In 211 Q. Fulvius Flaccus, Appius Claudius and Claudius Nero besieged Capua. Hannibal, unable to break the siege lines, marched on Rome, camped *three* miles from the city and sent his cavalry up to the Colline Gate in an effort to draw the Romans from Capua. Flaccus took a force of 16,000 men from Capua, leaving the rest of the Roman forces under the other two commanders to continue the siege, and marched to Rome which was well garrisoned. Bad weather prevented a decisive battle and Hannibal had to retire. Flaccus returned to Capua and the city was compelled to surrender (Polyb. IX. 3-9; Livy, XXV. 22; XXVI. 4-14).
- 33 Livy (XXV. 32-39) informs us that in 211 the two Scipios divided their army into two divisions and marched south from Saguntum but were weakened by the large scale desertions of their Spanish allies. In the meantime the Carthaginians had been strongly reinforced and Gnaeus Scipio was defeated and killed by Hasdrubal at Ilorci (Lorqui) inland from New Carthage, while Publius Scipio suffered a similar fate on the upper Baetis (Guadalquivir). The remnants of the Roman forces, however, regrouped under L. Marcius north of the Ebro and inflicted a sound defeat on the pursuing Carthaginians.
- 34 Cf. Livy, XXV. 23-31; 40-41. After the death of Hiero (215)

Syracuse went over to the Carthaginians. It was besieged by Marcellus in 213 and finally fell in 211.

- 35 Cf. Livy, XXVI. 24-25; 40. In 211 Laevinus negotiated alliances with the Aetolian League and with Attalus I of Pergamum. Philip was finally forced to sign a peace treaty at Phoenice in 205 after a show of force by Sempronius Tuditanus. In 210 Laevinus negotiated the surrender of Agrigentum and the rest of Sicily quickly submitted. Hanno escaped to Africa.
- 36 Cf. Livy, XXVII. 1. According to Livy, Fulvius and either 13,000 or 7,000 men died.
- 37 P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, called by Polybius possibly the most illustrious man of any born before the current generation (X. 2), was sent to Spain in 210. The following year he attacked New Carthage by land and sea and captured the city. Thereafter he drilled his army in Hannibal's tactics, equipped it with Spanish swords and won over many Spanish chiefs. In 208 he forced Hasdrubal to give battle at Baecula (Bailen) and was victorious but did not seriously injure Hasdrubal's army, which the latter then marched through Spain and Gaul into Italy (Polyb. X. 2 ff.; 34-39; XI. 1-33; Livy, XXVI. 18-20; 41-51; XXVII. 17-20).
- 38 In 209 (Livy, XXVII. 15-16).
- 39 Cf. Livy, XXVIII. 1-3.
- 40 In 208 Hannibal ambushed Marcellus between Tarentum and Locri (Livy, XXVII. 26-27).
- 41 In 206, at Ilipsa near Seville, Scipio totally defeated the Carthaginian forces in Spain (Livy, XXVIII. 12-18). Attenes, chief of the Turdetani, went over to the Romans, as did the Moorish chiefs Masinissa and Syphax. The rest of Spain was rapidly conquered (Livy, XXVIII. 17-37).
- 42 In 207 near Fanum Fortunae (Fano) or Sena (Sinigaglia) on the River Metaurus (Meturo) Hasdrubal's army of almost 30,000 men was annihilated and Hasdrubal killed (Polyb. XI. 1-3; Livy, XXVII. 46-49; Walbank, *Polybius* II, 267 ff.; Scullard, *op. cit.*, 502). Hannibal retired to Bruttium where he maintained himself for the next four years, though with dwindling expectations.
- 43 In 206; cf. Livy, XXVIII. 38.
- 44 In 205. For his "divine attributes" *vid.* Polyb. X. 5; Livy, XXVI. 19. Fabius and the senate initially refused Scipio's request to carry the war into Africa but he appealed to the people and the Senate was

- forced to allow him to take over the two disgraced legions in Sicily and any volunteers he could muster and invade Africa, if he considered it would benefit the state (Livy, XXVIII. 40 ff.; XXIX. 22).
- 45 In 204 Scipio landed in Africa near Utica with 35,000 men and in a minor skirmish defeated the Carthaginians (Livy, XXIX. 29). Subsequently Hanno was defeated and died in the rout. (Livy, XXIX. 34).
- 46 In the spring of 203; cf. Polyb. XIV. 2 ff.; Livy, XXX. 5-6.
- 47 The Battle of Campi Magni (Souk el Kremis). Cf. Polyb. XIV. 7-10; Livy, XXX. 11-12).
- 48 Hannibal left Italy in June, 203 (Polyb. XIV. 9.8; XV. 1.10; Livy, XXX. 19), and disembarked near Leptis (Livy, XXX. 25).
- 49 For the terms, which differ from those presented by Eutropius, probably due to compression and errors in transmission, *vid.* Livy, XXX. 16; 21-23; Walbank, *Polybius*, II. 442.
- 50 Cf. *Polyb.* XV. 1 ff.; Livy, XXX. 24-25.
- 51 Livy, XXX. 29-31.
- 52 Polyb. XIV. 2.1; Livy, XXX. 31.
- 53 The Battle of Zama (Naragara or Margaron), in the summer of 202 (Polyb. XV. 9-14; Livy, XXX. 32-35), ended with the complete defeat of Hannibal's army. Peace followed quickly, upon the same general terms as before but with the indemnity doubled, the Carthaginian fleet reduced to ten ships and Carthage not allowed to wage war without Roman consent (Scullard, *op. cit.*, 238, 503). For Scipio's triumph *vid.* Polyb. XVI. 23; Livy, XXX. 45. Eutropius considered that the war commenced in 219 (note 10).

Book Four

- 1 This date is given by Livy (XXXI. 5), who adds that P. Sulpicius Galba and C. Aurelius were consuls (i.e. 200), entered office on March 15th and made war with Philip the first item of business in the Senate. Cf. Polyb. XVI. 24 ff. Livy's computation, counting inclusively, is two years short. For a discussion of this *vid.* J. Briscoe, *A Commentary on Livy XXXI-XXXIII*, (Oxford, 1973), 50. For ancient and modern works on Rome's relations with the Hellenistic world from 200 to 146 *vid.* Cary and Scullard, *op. cit.*, 602-603, Scullard, *op. cit.*, 251 ff.; 504 ff.

- 2 T. Quinctius Flaminius (cos. 198) defeated Philip at Cynoscephalae near Scotusa in Thessaly in autumn 197 (Polyb. XVIII. 20-27; Livy, XXXIII. 6-13). For the terms of peace *vid.* Polyb. XVIII. 39; 44-45; Livy, XXXIII. 13; 30.
- 3 In 195 Flaminius and his Greek allies defeated Nabis of Sparta and freed Argos (Livy, XXXIV. 22-40). For his triumph *vid.* Livy, XXXIV. 52. For Flaminius *vid.* E. Badian, *Titus Quinctius Flaminius: Philhellenism and Realpolitik* (Cincinnati, 1970); *id.* *J.R.S.* LXI (1971), 102 ff. Nabis was subsequently killed (Livy, XXXV. 35).
- 4 In 192 Antiochus III landed in Greece, invited by the Aetolians to free Greece from Roman domination. The following year the consul M. Acilius Glabrio marched across Greece, defeated Antiochus at Thermopylae and destroyed his retreating army (Polyb. XX. 1-3; 7; XXI. 4; Livy, XXXVI. 1-19). For Hannibal at Antiochus' court *vid.* Polyb. III. 11-12; XXI. 17; 45; Livy, XXXII. 48-49; 60-61; Nepos, *Hann.* 7-8.
- 5 In 190 at Aspendus (Side), a Rhodian fleet of 36 vessels defeated 37 of Antiochus' warships., Hannibal commanded the left division of Antiochus' fleet (Livy, XXXVII. 22-24). Shortly afterwards a Roman and allied fleet mauled Antiochus' main battle fleet at Myonnesus, sinking or capturing 42 ships (Polyb. XXI. 11-13; Livy, XXXVII. 29-30). This victory gave Rome and its allies command of the sea.
- 6 That same year Scipio crushed Antiochus' land forces at Magnesia in Lydia (Livy, XXXVII. 37-44). Livy gives identical figures for Antiochus' losses.
- 7 For the terms *vid.* Polyb. XXI. 17; 45-48; Livy, XXXVII. 45; 55; Walbank, *Polybius III*, 108 ff.; J. Briscoe, *A Commentary on Livy XXXIV-XXXVII*, Oxford, 1981, 358 ff.
- 8 For the title and triumph (189) *vid.* Livy, XXXVII. 58-59; Walbank, *Polybius III*, 118; Briscoe, *op. cit.* 394.
- 9 M. Fulvius Nobilior, as consul, transported an army to Greece in 189 to deal with the Aetolians. He invested Ambracia and forced the Aetolians to come to terms (Livy, XXXVIII. 1-11). During his absence he was attacked in the senate by one of the consuls of 187, M. Aemilius Lepidus (Livy, XXXVIII. 43-44). He celebrated his triumph on December 23, 187, prior to the election of the consuls of 186, Sp. Postumius Albinus and Q. Marcius Philippus (Livy, XXXIX.

- 4-5).
- 10 After Antiochus' defeat at Magnesia Hannibal fled to Crete and afterwards to Prusias of Bithynia. To escape being surrendered to the Romans he took poison in 183/2 (Livy, XXXIX. 51; Nepos, *Hann.* 12; Walbank, *Polybius* III, 242).
 - 11 In 179 Perseus replaced his father as King of Macedon. In 172 King Eumenes of Pergamum delivered a stinging and mostly fabricated denunciation of Perseus before the senate (Polyb. XXII. 8-9, XXIII. 1 ff.; XXV. 1-3; 6; Livy, XL. 54-57; XLI. 22; XLII. 11-13). Ostensibly because Perseus had attacked some Illyrian chiefs who were allies or friends of Rome, the senate demanded reparations. These were refused and the Romans declared war in 171.
 - 12 P. Licinius Crassus, consul in 171, was defeated in Thessaly but refused Perseus' peace overtures except on the terms described here (Livy, XLII. 57-62).
 - 13 In 168 Anicius ended the Illyrian War in less than a month, capturing Scodra and King Genthius, whom he sent to Rome together with his family (Polyb. XXX. 14; Livy, XLIV. 31-32).
 - 14 The Battle of Pydna took place supposedly on September 4th, 168, the exact dating being marked by a lunar eclipse. Eutropius' misdating is probably owed to a scribal error (III Nonas Septembres for II). The actual date of the eclipse was June 21st (Scullard, *op. cit.*, 514). The total defeat of the Macedonians and subsequent surrender of Perseus left Macedonia without either a king or an army. The numbers of dead are those given by Livy (XLIV. 37-43). Cf. Polyb. XXIX. 15-17; Plut. *Aemil.* 16-23. For the capture and treatment of Perseus *vid.* Livy, XLV. 6-8.
 - 15 Cf. Polyb. XXX. 15; 19; 22; Livy, XLV. 33 ff.; 40; 43; 44; Plut. *Aemil.* 23 ff.; Walbank, *Polybius* III, 438 ff. Perseus' flagship was like the great battleships of recent times. It probably possessed either two banks of oars with eight men per oar or three banks of oars with six men per oar on the top two banks and four men per oar on the lowest bank. This would result in a large, wide-beamed vessel which would provide substantial stability for the firing of catapults and broader decks to accommodate more marines (L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, Princeton, 1971, 99-107; J.S. Morrison and J.F. Coates, *The Athenian Trireme*, Cambridge, 1986, 8-48).
 - 16 In 154 the two Roman praetors in western Spain were beaten by the

Lusitanians probably on the upper Tagus. The following year L. Mummius, after an initial defeat, won several victories both in Spain against the Aravaci and in North Africa against a group of Lusitanians. In 153-152 the consul Fulvius Nobilior was defeated at Numantia but his successor, the consul M. Claudius Marcellus, captured Ocilio and through conciliation, (despite the senate's opposition) gave Hispania Citerior eight years of peace. Eutropius (or his source) carefully omits Roman defeats (Polyb. XXXV. 1-6; App. *Hisp.* 44-55; Livy, *Epi.* XLVIII; Walbank, *Polybius* III, 642-643).

- 17 The Third Punic War began in 149, as the consular dating correctly indicates. The a.u.c. dating presumably follows Livy (and the Epitome) who generally dates from 751 or 750 (*Cambridge Ancient History* VII (2), 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1989, 625). The dating from the end of the second Punic War may be Eutropius' own and is almost correct if one counts inclusively as the Romans did. Carthage, constantly provoked by Rome's ally, Masinissa, finally attacked him and was humiliated in 150. This provided a *casus belli* for Cato and the anti-Carthaginian party at Rome; war was declared in 149 and a Roman army landed in Africa. Carthage surrendered, but when the Carthaginians learned that the city was to be destroyed, they made a heroic stand against the Roman blockade until P. Cornelius Scipio stormed and destroyed the city in 146. Carthaginian territory became the Roman province of Africa (Polyb. XXXVI-XXXIX; App. *Lib.* 67-135; Livy, *Epi.* XLIX).
- 18 For Masinissa who died in 148 *vid.* Polyb. XXXVII. 10; App. *Pun.* 105; Livy, *Epi.* LVIII-L; Walbank, *Polybius* III. 675 ff. For Scipio's division of his kingdom (Numidia) cf. Livy, *Epi.* L; App. *Lib.* 106; Zon. IX. 27.
- 19 According to Timaeus, Carthage was founded in 814 but no archaeological finds predate c. 750. In general *vid.* B.H. Warmington, *Carthage*, 2nd ed. Harmondsworth, 1964. For P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, *vid.* A.E. Astin, *Scipio Aemilianus*, Oxford, 1967.
- 20 Andriskus, a fuller from Crete serving in the Syrian army, pretended to be Philip, the dead son of Perseus. Imprisoned by the Romans he either escaped or was freed and went to Thrace, where he won over the local dynasty and with their help invaded Macedonia. In 148 he defeated and killed P. Iuventius Thalna, but Q. Caecilius Metellus

arrived with a larger army and after an initial setback defeated Andiscus near Pydna. Andiscus was surrendered to the Romans by a Thracian chief, graced Metellus' triumph and was executed. For sources and discussion *vid.* Walbank, *Polybius* III, 46, 668, 682-3.

- 21 In 149/8 the Romans were induced to allow Sparta and other communities to secede from the Achaean League. The League then attacked and ravaged Laconia in spring 148. A Roman envoy, L. Aurelius Orestes, arrived at Corinth in 147 and announced Rome's decision to break up the League. It responded in 146 by overrunning central Greece under Critolaus. Caecilius Metellus marched from Macedonia and routed the Achaeans. Later that year the consul, L. Mummius, destroyed an Achaean army near Corinth, razed the city to the ground and sold its inhabitants into slavery. The plundering of its treasures took place before and was distinct from its destruction (Walbank, *Polybius* III, 48-49; 698 ff.; 709-718; 728 ff.). Mummius' triumph is similarly described in Livy, *Epit.* LII.
- 22 In 142; cf. Livy, *Epit.* LIII; Varro, *de Re Rust.* II. iv. 1.
- 23 This account also derives from Livy, *Epit.* LII; LIV; cf. App. *Hisp.* 60-79. Between 146-141 Viriathus, benefitting from Rome's campaign in Greece and Africa and his knowledge of the terrain, defeated several Roman generals including Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus, from whom he wrung a favourable peace (141). The following year Q. Caepio persuaded the Senate to disavow the treaty and had Viriathus assassinated. The Lusitanians, now leaderless, surrendered soon afterwards (139). Caepio's response is a typical piece of Roman propaganda during a shameful period in Roman history. Supposedly the assassins of Viriathus were driven from Rome unrewarded (Livy, *Epit.* LV; Oros. V. 4). For these wars *vid.* Scullard, *op. cit.*, 300-306; H. Simon, *Roms Kriege in Spanien, 154-133 v. Chr.* (Frankfurt, 1962).
- 24 After Q. Caecilius Metellus had crushed most of the Celtiberian resistance (143-142) except for Numantia, his successor, Q. Pompeius, found himself besieged in his own camp near Numantia. He extricated himself by making a peace treaty and pocketing the indemnity (140), then reneged on the pact. The same thing happened with Hostilius Mancinus in 137, who was compelled to pass under the yoke with 20,000 men. The senate repudiated the conditions and sent Mancinus back naked to Numantia (Livy, *Epit.* LV; LVI; App. *Hisp.* 79-80).

- 25 In 134 P. Scipio Aemilianus, grandson by adoption of P. Scipio Africanus, collected a force of 60,000 Romans and Spaniards and systematically besieged Numantia, which had only 4,000 soldiers. According to Livy (*Epit.* LVII) Scipio restored discipline by cutting out all indulgences, including 2,000 prostitutes, and enforcing daily training. Hunger finally compelled the Numantines to capitulate in 133: its inhabitants were sold into slavery and the city was destroyed. This brought the Spanish wars to an end (*App. Hisp.* 84-98).
- 26 In 133 Attalus III, King of Pergamum, who had come to the throne in 138, died. In his will he bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans who made it their province of Asia (Livy, *Epit.* LVIII; Dittenberger, *OGIS* 338: 43). Eutropius carefully omits the Epitomator's discussion of Tib. Gracchus' use of Attalus' fortune to subsidize those who were to receive land under the Lex Sempronia (*vid.* Introduction).
- 27 For D. Junius Brutus' victories in 137-134 over the Gallicians and Lusitanians *vid.* Livy, *Epit.* LV; LVI; LIX; *App. Hisp.* 73-79; 99; Strabo, III. 152; Vell II. 5.1.
- 28 For Scipio's triumph in 133 *vid.* Livy, *Epit.* LIX; *App. Hisp.* 96-98.
- 29 Aristonicus, a natural son of Eumenes, laid claim to Pergamum in 133 and led an enormously popular uprising. Crassus (*cos.* 131) was defeated by him in 130. Perperna (*cos.* 130) overcame Aristonicus at Stratoniceia in Caria in 130, but died shortly afterwards (Livy, *Epit.* LIX; F.C. Thomes, *La rivolta di Aristonico e le origine della provincia Romana d'Asia*, Turin, 1968).
- 30 It was in 122, through the *lex Rubria* of 123, that Gaius Gracchus established a colony called Junonia, near the site of Carthage (Livy, *Epit.* LX; Plut. *C. Gracchus*, 11; E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae*, Oxford 1958, 300; H.H. Scullard, *From the Gracchi to Nero*, 4th ed., London, 1976, 397). Again Eutropius carefully omits mention of C. Gracchus, though the information appears in Livy's *Epitome* for the year 122. Metellus and Flamininus were consuls in 123.
- 31 C. Cassius Longinus and C. Sextius Calvinus were consuls in 124 so that the computation again appears to indicate that Eutropius' source, presumably Livy's *Epitome*, was reckoning from 751 as the year of Rome's foundation. As proconsul (123-122) Calvinus subjugated the Saluvii of the Riviera and established a settlement at Aquae Sextiae (Aix) near their chief town. Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (*cos.* 122), as proconsul in 121, defeated the Allobroges near Vindalium

(between Orange and Avignon). The Arverni, under King Bituitus, came to their assistance, only to be decisively beaten by Q. Fabius Maximus (*cos.* 121) at the confluence of the Rhône and Isère. Domitius captured Bituitus by treachery. Gallia Transalpina was subsequently annexed (Livy, *Epit.* LXI; Strabo, IV. 180 ff.; Vell. I. 15.4; App. *Gall.* 12; Florus, I. 37.4). The Gauls, other Celts and some Germans regularly wore a thick, round collar or torque, usually of pure gold. It had a one inch (25 mm.) gap at the front so that it could be put on, then it was shaped to the neck.

- 32 Domitius built a road from the Rhône to the Pyrenees, named after himself, and on it a colony of Roman veterans was founded at Narbo (Narbonne) in 118 during the consulship of M. Porcius Cato and Q. Marcius Rex (Vell. I. 15.5). L. Caecilius Metellus was consul in 119 and celebrated his triumph in 117, receiving the *cognomen* Delmaticus for his successes (Livy, *Epit.* LXII).
- 33 Cato was consul in 114 when he was defeated by the Scordisci in Thrace (Livy, *Epit.* LXIII; App. *Illyr.* 5; Florus, I. 39.3 ff.). Here, as above, the a.u.c. computation is inaccurate.
- 34 In 113 the Cimbri defeated Papirius Carbo at Noreia near Ljubljana (Livy, *Epit.* LXIII; App. *Gall.* I. 13; Strabo, V. 214; Plut. *Marius*, 16; Vell. II. 12; Tac. *Germ.* 37).
- 35 After the death of King Micipsa of Numidia in 118 the kingdom was divided between his two sons, Adhurbal and Hiempsal, and his adoptive son Jugurtha. Jugurtha had Hiempsal assassinated and drove out Adhurbal, who appealed to Rome. The Romans divided Numidia between Jugurtha and Adhurbal, but in 112 Jugurtha besieged Adhurbal in Cirta (Constantine), took the city, killed Adhurbal and allowed his troops to massacre some Roman businessmen there. The Romans declared war and sent one of the consuls of 111, L. Calpurnius Bestia, who found the campaign difficult and eventually concluded a tolerable peace. Charges of corruption against various senators were made at Rome by C. Memmius, a tribune, and Jugurtha was given a safe-conduct to Rome to give evidence. This was vetoed by another tribune, C. Baebius, and Jugurtha fled home after having his cousin and potential rival, Massiva, murdered at Rome. In 110 Sp. Postumius Albinus fought inconclusively against Jugurtha and eventually returned to Rome leaving his brother, Aulus, in charge. Aulus was defeated in 109, and his army was sent under the yoke (Sall. *Jug.* 20-29; App. *Num.*

I; Livy, *Epit.* LXIV).

- 36 Q. Caecilius Metellus (*cos.* 109) won several successes but could not finish the war. C. Marius, his legate, obtained the consulship in 107 yet despite notable victories he also failed to crush Jugurtha until his legate, L. Cornelius Sulla, persuaded Bocchus of Mauretania to betray Jugurtha in 105. Thus the war ended and Jugurtha graced Marius' triumph on January 1st, 104, before being strangled in the Tullianum (Sal. *Jug.* 80-113; Plut. *Marius* 9 ff.; App. *Num.* 4 f.; Livy, *Epit.* LXVI-LXVII; Scullard, *Gracchi to Nero*, 48-53; G.M. Paul, *A Historical Commentary on Sallust's Bellum Jugurthinum*, Liverpool, 1984).

In 109, on the border of Transalpine Gaul, the army of the consul M. Junius Silanus was heavily defeated by the Cimbri and Teutones (Livy, *Epit.* LXV; Vell. II. 12; Veget. III. 10; Florus, I. 38). This seems to be a personal error of Eutropius since the Epitome gives the correct version.

Minucius Rufus (*cos.* 110) defeated the Thracians (i.e. Scordisci and Triballi) in 109 (Livy, *Epit.* LXV). Q. Servilius Caepio, praetor in 109, triumphed over the Lusitanians in 107 and was elected consul for 106.

Book Five

- 1 At Arausio (Orange) on the Rhône in 105 two Roman armies under the consul, Gnaeus Mallius Maximus, and the consul of the previous year, Q. Servilius Caepio, were totally defeated. The Romans were reported to have lost 80,000 soldiers and 40,000 support staff and camp followers. Caepio, who as proconsul was Mallius' subordinate, refused to cooperate with Mallius, whom he considered his social inferior, and was subsequently cashiered and had his property confiscated for what was Rome's worst disaster since Cannae (Livy, *Epit.* LXVII; Vell. II. 12.1; Plut. *Marius*, 19; 25; *Lucullus*, 27; Cic. *Pro. Balb.* 28; Val. Max. IV. 7.3; Tac. *Germ.* 37; Dio, XXVII frg. 91.1-4; Oros. V. 16.2).
- 2 Marius was elected consul from 104-100 consecutively, Catulus was elected consul for 102. The Teutones moved off into Gaul and the Cimbri crossed into Spain, giving the Romans a three year respite to rebuild their army (Livy, *Epit.* LXVII; Plut. *Marius*, 14).
- 3 In 102 the Germanic and Gallic invaders, whether by accident or by

design, mounted a three-pronged attack on Italy. The Teutones marched through southern Gaul, the Cimbri skirted the northern Alps to enter Italy via the Brenner Pass and the Valley of the Adige, while the Tigurini invaded Venetia through the Julian Alps. Marius met the Ambrones and Teutones at Aquae Sestiae (Aix) and annihilated them, supposedly killing 200,000 and capturing 80,000 (Livy, *Epit.* LXVIII; Plut. *Marius*, 16-22).

- 4 Catulus at first tried to hold the Cimbri in the Adige valley near Tridentum (Trento) but was forced to retreat south of the Po. His command was prolonged into 101, when he was joined by Marius and in August of that year their combined forces of over 50,000, under the senior command of Marius, met and crushed the Cimbri on the Raudine Plain near Vercellae. Livy (*Epit.* LXVIII) gives identical figures for the Ciumbric losses. Cf. Plut. *Marius*, 25-27. For modern literature *vid.* Scullard *op. cit.* 405-406. Plutarch observes that the standards captured were taken back to Catulus' camp and that he used this to claim the glory of the victory for his army and himself. Eutropius apparently found this account in his version of the *Epitome* or in some other source and happily made use of its to downplay the role of Marius.
- 5 In 91 the tribune M. Livius Drusus proposed to extend the franchise to the Italian allies. He lost the support of the senate, the equites and the populace of Rome and was assassinated. A coalition of Picentes, Marsi, Paeligni, Marrucini, Vestini, Frentani, Hirpini and Samnites, denied Roman citizenship, decided to fight for independence and the Italian or Social War broke out (Livy, *Epit.* LXXI-LXXII; Diod. XXXVII. 10.1-3; 11.1 ff.; 13.1 ff.). For the war and its social issues *vid.* E.T. Salmon, *Samnium and the Samnites*, Cambridge, 1967, ch. 9-10; A.N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, 2nd Ed., Oxford, 1973, 134 ff.; P.A. Brunt, *J.R.S.* 55 (1965), 90 ff.; E. Badian, *Dialoghi di Arch.* 4/5 (1971), 373 ff.
- 6 Actual fighting commenced in 90 with the early victories going to the Italians. The Romans, however, gradually overcame them and had broken the back of their resistance by 88, although a few groups of Samnites and Lucanians and individual cities continued the struggle into 86 (Livy, *Epit.* LXXIII-LXXVI; App. *Civ.* I. 42 ff.). The Epitomator emphasizes Sulla's major successes, which he achieved before seeking the consulship (LXXV). Eutropius readily makes use of this to enhance Sulla's reputation. Sulla was consul in 88.

- 7 According to Livy's *Epitome* LXXVII in 88 Marius suborned a tribune, P. Sulpicius Rufus, to transfer command of the war against Mithridates, King of Pontus, from Sulla to himself. Violence ensued and the son of Sulla's colleague, Q. Pompeius Rufus, Sulla's son-in-law, was killed and Sulla saved himself by surrendering to Marius and allowed Sulpicius' measures to be carried. But Sulla then hurried to the six legions he had led in the Italian War, which were encamped in Campania, won them over and marched into Rome, thus starting the first Civil War in Rome's history. Marius escaped to Africa, Sulpicius was hunted down and killed. Sulla had Sulpicius' legislation rescinded, supervised the consular elections of Gnaeus Octavius and L. Cornelius Cinna, then left Italy for the East with his army. Cf. Plut. *Sulla*, 8 ff.; *Marius*, 35-50; App. *Civ.* I. 7 ff.; Vell. II. 19.1; Val. Max. VII. 5.7. Again Eutropius appears to be computing from 751/750.
- 8 Cf. Livy, *Epit.* LXXVII-LXXVIII; App. *Mith.* III. 17 ff.; Plut. *Sulla*, 9; Dio, XXX-XXXV frg. 101. Mithridates VI of Pontus seized Bithynia and reoccupied Cappadocia in 91 or 90. He was quickly forced to withdraw by the Romans under M. Aquilius but in 88, acting as the saviour of the Asiatic cities against the rapacious Romans, he swept over the whole of Asia Minor and ordered the massacre of all Roman citizens there, 80,000 of whom are reported to have perished.
- 9 Aristion, an agent of Mithridates, led a rebellion against the unpopular pro-Roman oligarchy there and seized the city, while Archelaus, Mithridates' commander-in-chief, occupied the Peiraeus (Livy, *Epit.* LXXVIII; App. *Mith.* IV. 22-29; Plut. *Sulla*, 9; Dio, *loc. cit.*). For Eutropius' need to explain Athens *vid.* R.J. Penella, *A.J.P.* 65 (1980), 447-448.
- 10 Cf. Livy, *Epit.* LXXXI; App. *Mith.* VI. 38 ff.; Plut. *Sulla*, 14.
- 11 In 86 Sulla defeated Archelaus' main army at Chaeroneia in Boeotia. Plutarch reports that only 10,000 of Archelaus' army escaped while Sulla lost but twelve men. Later that year Sulla defeated a relieving army of 80,000 elite troops at Orchomenus in Boeotia and Mithridates sued for peace (Plut. *Sulla*, 15-23; Livy, *Epit.* LXXXII; App. *Mith.* VIII. 41-45, 49).
- 12 On his march to the Dardanelles Sulla inflicted several defeats on the Thracian tribes (Livy, *Epit.* LXXXIII; Plut. *loc. cit.*).
- 13 A peace treaty was signed by Sulla and Mithridates at Dardanus near

Troy in the summer of 85. Mithridates agreed to give up all territories he had conquered in Asia Minor, surrender 70 ships and pay an indemnity of 2,000 talents (Plut. *Sulla*, 24; Livy, *Epit.* LXXXIII; App. *Mith.* VIII. 54-58).

- 14 Before the end of 87 Marius and Cinna controlled Rome and after a period of looting and murder which Cinna finally stopped, had themselves declared consuls for 86. Sulla was exiled and his laws repealed. Marius died on January 17, 86, leaving Cinna in sole command, and he had himself re-elected for 85 and 84. His achievements in solving the citizenship problem and relieving debtors were ignored by the Epitomator (and Eutropius). After fruitless negotiations with Sulla, Cinna decided to settle the issue militarily and despatched troops across the Adriatic but was killed by mutineers at Ancona in 84. Much of what follows probably goes back to Sulla's memoirs via Plutarch (*Sulla*, 20 ff.) or Livy (*Epit.* LXXXIII ff.).
- 15 In 83 Sulla defeated Norbanus near Capua and subsequently won over the army of Scipio (Livy, *Epit.* LXXXV; Vell. II. 25.2,4; App. *Civ.* I. 10.84; Plut. *Sulla*, 28.1.3).
- 16 In 82 Sulla destroyed the younger Marius' army at Sacriportus and besieged him in Praeneste where Marius committed suicide (Livy, *Epit.* LXXXVII; App. *Civ.* I. 10.89 ff.; Vell. II. 27.4-6; Plut. *Sulla*, 32).
- 17 On November 1st, 82 Sulla's forces met a combined Marian-Samnite army of about 70,000 outside the Colline Gate at Rome. Both sides suffered heavy losses but Sulla's troops finally prevailed (Livy. *Epit.* LXXXVIII; App. *Civ.* I. 10.93; Vell. II. 27.1-3; Plut. *Sulla*, 29. Sulla's cruelty, ignored by Eutropius, is clearly demonstrated by the other sources and emphasized by Orosius (V. 21).
- 18 Cn. Pompeius (Pompey) was twenty-four when he was sent by Sulla to Sicily where Carbo had fled. He quickly subdued the island and executed Carbo in 81 (Livy, *Epit.* LXXXIX; App. *Civ.* I. 11.96; Plut. *Pompey*, 10.3 ff.).
- 19 Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Cinna's son-in-law, had recruited a large army in Africa and was supported by Hiarta (Iarbas in Plutarch), King of Numidia. In 80 Pompey overcame their forces and restored Hiempsal to the Numidian throne, for which he celebrated a triumph unprecedented for a man of his rank and age (Livy, *Epit.* LXXXIX; Plut. *Pompey*, 11-14). Sulla's triumph was celebrated in January, 81,

Pompey celebrated his either in that year or in 80 (E. Badian, *Hermes* 88, 1955, 107 ff.; R.E. Smith, *Phoenix* 14, 1960, 1 ff.). Eutropius' evidence, for what it is worth, would seem to support Badian's view.

- 20 For his conclusion to Book Five Eutropius either found his information in a version of Livy's *Epitome* differing from the one we possess, or from an additional source. Hostilities in the Italian War commenced in 90 and the Civil War ended in 81, a ten year period as Eutropius records.

Book Six

- 1 In 79 Sulla resigned his dictatorship and retired to Campania where he died the following year, during the consulship of Lepidus and Catulus.
- 2 Q. Sertorius was sent to govern the whole of Roman Spain as praetor probably in 83. Expelled by Sulla's appointee Annius Luscus in 81 he returned from Tingis (Tangier). The following year at the request of the Lusitanians he gained the support of the native tribes and anti-Sullan Romans and for a time controlled most of Roman Spain. He and his ally, Hirtuleius, were successful against a number of Roman commanders including Pompey until he was gradually worn down by the latter and Metellus. In 72 he was assassinated by his lieutenant, Perperna, who was quickly defeated by Pompey, and the war came to an end (Livy, *Epit.* XC-XCIV; App. *Civ.* I. 13.107-113; Plut. *Sertorius*, 12.3 ff.; *Pompey*, 16 ff.; Oros. V. 23 ff.; A. Schulten, *Sertorius*, Leipzig, 1926).
- 3 Ap. Claudius Pulcher was sent to Macedonia in 78 as proconsul (Livy, *Epit.* XCI; cf. Florus, I. 39.6; Oros. V. 23.19).
- 4 In 75 Curio was sent as proconsul to Macedonia and defeated the Dardanians (Livy, *Epit.* XCII; Sall. *Hist.* II. 80; Oros. V. 23.20) Eutropius gives details not found in the extant copy of the *Epitome*, again indicating either that his version differed from ours or that he used an additional source.
- 5 In 78 the proconsul P. Servilius commenced a three year war against the pirates of Lycia, Pamphylia, Cilicia and Isauria (Livy, *Epit.* XC; XCIII; Sall. *Hist.* II. frg. 87; Oros. V. 23.21; Cic. *In Verr.* II. III. xc. 210 f.).
- 6 C. Cosconius is probably to be equated with the praetor of 89 who

- won several victories against the Samnites (Livy, *Epit.* LXXV; App. *Civ.* I. 52). He apparently served in Illyricum between 78 and 76 (Cic. *Cluent.* 97; Oros. V. 23).
- 7 In 78 Lepidus attempted to repeal Sulla's settlement. He was driven from Italy by Catulus and Pompey and died in Sardinia the following year (Livy, *Epit.* XC; App. *Civ.* I. 13.107; Plut. *Pompey*, 16).
 - 8 In 74, when Lucullus and Cotta were consuls, Nicomedes IV of Bithynia died and bequeathed his kingdom to Rome. The senate accepted and Mithridates immediately invaded Bithynia, which brought about the Third Mithridatic War (Livy, *Epit.* XCIII; App. *Mith.* X. 71 - XII; *Civ.* I. 13.111).
 - 9 Although in 74 and 73 Cotta was defeated by Mithridates on both land and sea and besieged at Chalcedon, Lucullus won several victories in 73, relieving Cotta and forcing Mithridates to abandon the siege of Cyzicus. The king, after losing almost 100,000 men, was forced to flee to Pontus, (Livy, *Epit.* XCIII-XCVII; App. *Mith.* X. 71 - XII. 83; Plut. *Lucullus*, 7; 9-11; 24).
 - 10 M. Terentius Varro Lucullus, consul in 73, was the younger brother of L. Licinius Lucullus, had been adopted by a Varro, and was cousin of Q. Metellus Pius. In 72, as proconsul of Macedonia, he extended Roman rule up to the Lower Danube (Livy, *Epit.* XCVII; Oros. VI. 3.4; Ammianus, 27.4.11; R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford, 1939, 21-23).
 - 11 In 73 a Thracian gladiator named Spartacus, who had served in the Roman army as an auxiliary, together with two subordinates, also gladiators, Crixus and Oenomaus, revolted at Capua and defeated two Roman armies. Their forces were augmented by other gladiators and runaway slaves of Thracian, Celtic and German origin and may have numbered 90,000. They devastated southern Italy and moved north to Cisalpine Gaul but instead of scattering to their various homelands they chose to plunder Italy. Crixus and the Celtic contingent were crushed in 72 but Spartacus marched south, overcame two more Roman armies and would have crossed over to Sicily if his pirate allies had not deserted him. Crassus finally cornered Spartacus in Lucania in 71 and destroyed his forces. Pompey caught and killed the few who escaped. Again it is evident that Eutropius' version of the *Epitome* differed from the one extant or that he used an additional source, for Oenomaus' name does not appear in our version and Crassus is described as a praetor, not proconsul (Livy,

Epit. XCV-XCVII; *App. Civ.* I. 116 ff.; *Plut. Crassus*, 8 ff.; *Pompey*, 21; *Florus*, II. 8; *Oros.* V. 24).

12 I. e. 71.

13 Mithridates rebuilt his forces in Pontus but Lucullus defeated him at Cabera in 72 and by 70 had overrun Pontus entirely, forcing the king to take refuge with his son-in-law, Tigranes of Armenia. Tigranes refused to surrender Mithridates and consequently Lucullus invaded Armenia, captured Tigranocerta in 69 and advanced into central Armenia where he beat the two kings in battle and threatened Artaxata. His tired and discontented troops, however, refused to continue and he was compelled to move south to capture and winter in Nisibis. Meanwhile in Pontus Mithridates had regrouped and in 67 defeated C. Triarius, Lucullus' lieutenant, at Zela. Lucullus hurried back to Pontus but his army disintegrated and the governors of Cilicia and Bithynia refused to assist him. The two kings regained possession of their kingdoms and finally Lucullus was compelled to hand over the command to Pompey in 66. That year the latter marched from Cilicia and defeated Mithridates, who had lost the support of Tigranes, and of his sons Pharnaces and Machares, at Dasteira (later called Nicopolis). In 63 Pharnaces besieged Mithridates at Panticapaeum where the king ordered one of his guards to kill him. Pompey, in the meantime, had already received the submission of Tigranes, who was allowed to retain Armenia but had to give up his other possessions (*Livy, Epit.* XCVII-CI; *App. Mith.* XII. 79-110; *Plut. Lucullus* 17; 19; 30; 32-35; *Pompey*, 32.5-9; 34; *Dio*, XXXVI. 45.3; 46; 50-51, XXXVI. 54; XXXVII. 1-5; *Festus*, XVI).

14 Ammianus (27.4.11-12) notes that Lucullus was the first to encounter the Bessi and the Haemimontani and subdued the whole of Thrace. He further informs us that Uscudama subsequently became Hadrianopolis (in the reign of Hadrian, possibly in A.D. 124). The other towns in Thrace and (later) Moesia are not mentioned in our version of *Livy's Epitome* at this juncture, but *Festus* (IX), who also remarks that Lucullus was the first to fight the Bessi, gives a similar but not identical list. This indicates that a list existed in a source shared by both Eutropius and *Festus* which might have been another fuller version of the *Epitome*. Cf. J.W. Eadie, *The Breviarium of Festus*, London, 1967, 118-119. Eutropius had probably visited most if not all of these towns while on campaign with Valens between

A.D. 367 and 369.

- 15 In 74 the senate gave a special command against the pirates to M. Antonius, who was defeated in 71 in a naval encounter. The Romans, occupied with Mithridates, ignored Crete until 68 when the proconsul, A. Caecilius Metellus, with three legions, savagely subdued the island after two years of campaigning and reduced it to the status of a province. He was rewarded with the *cognomen* Creticus and a triumph in 62. (Livy, *Epit.* XCVII-C; Cic. *Verr.* II. III. xci-xciii. 213-216; Vell. II. 31-34.1; Plut. *Antony*, 1; App. *Sic. frg.* VI. 2; Florus, I. 42.4-6; Val. Max. VII. vi. 1; Plut. *Pompey*, 29; Dio, XXXVI. 17a; 18; 45).
- 16 It was probably in 96 that Ptolemy Apion of Cyrene died and left his country to the Romans, who annexed the royal lands but left the cities free. Disorders and pirate connections led to Roman intervention and it was established as a province in 74. Libya, the old Greek term for North Africa, was also the name given to the two provinces west of Egypt (including Cyrene) by Diocletian probably in A.D. 297, which accounts for Eutropius' use of the name. Livy called it Cyrene (*Epit.* LXX; Tac. *Ann.* XIV. 18; Justinus, XXXIX. 5; Julius Obsequens, 49; Ammianus, 22.16.24; Festus, XIII). For a modern discussion *vid.* Sanders, *The Lost Epitome of Livy*, 186; Eadie, *op. cit.* 126-127, W. den Boer, *Some Minor Roman Historians*, 193-197.
- 17 In 67, through the *Lex Gabinia*, Pompey was given an extraordinary command against the pirates. Within forty days he had cleared the western Mediterranean and fifty days later he had destroyed the pirates of the eastern basin (Livy, *Epit.* XCIX; App. *Mith.* XIV. 94-96; Plut. *Pompey* 24-28; Vell. II. 32.4).
- 18 In 66 Pompey was given command against Mithridates by the *Lex Manilia* and his large, well-trained army quickly destroyed Mithridates' dwindling forces at Dasteira, which concluded the war (Livy, *Epit.* C-CI; *vid.* note 13). Eutropius once more furnishes many details not provided by our version of the *Epitome*.
- 19 For Pompey's pursuit of Mithridates to the Caucasus, settlement of the east, annexation of Syria and subjugation of Judaea, all completed by 64, *vid.* Livy, *Epit.* CI-CII; Plut. *Pompey* 32.5-34; App. *Mith.* XV. 99-102; Strabo, VII. 6.1 ff.; Vell. II. 38.6; Dio, XXXVI. 49-54; XXXVII. 1-5; Festus, XIV; Eadie, *op. cit.* 129-132. Daphne was originally a park near Antioch with a splendid temple of Apollo

dedicated by Seleucus I. It was celebrated for its natural beauty and Pompey enlarged it. Subsequently it became a suburb of Antioch with a royal palace. The temple was burned in October, 362, while Julian and Eutropius were at Antioch (Ammianus, 22.13), which shocked the emperor enormously. Eutropius must have visited Daphne frequently.

- 20 In 63 Catiline, who had served as praetor in 68, was unsuccessful for the second year running in his bid for the consulship. As leader of a group of disaffected aristocrats, impoverished Sullan veterans and the urban poor he organized a conspiracy at Rome and in Italy which was revealed to Cicero by spies. In November Cicero obtained written evidence of the plot, drove Catiline from Rome and arrested Lentulus and Cethegus in Rome. These were condemned by the senate and executed. Catiline's army of irregulars was defeated near Pistoria in January 62 by the propraetor M. Petreius and Catiline was killed. Antonius, the other consul, led one of the armies against Catiline and is also credited with defeating and killing Catiline by the *Epitome*. According to Sallust Antonius was prevented by an attack of gout from participating in the battle and he turned over the command to Petreius (Livy. *Epit.* CII-CIII; Cic. *Cat.* I-IV; Sall. *Cat.*; Dio, XXXVII. 39 ff.).
- 21 For Pompey's magnificent triumph *vid.* Plut. *Pompey*, 45. It is briefly noted in the *Epitome* (CIII).
- 22 In 59 Caesar was consul with M. Calpurnius Bibulus. From Augustus' time onwards *imperare* frequently meant "to rule as emperor" (e.g. Plin. *Pan.* 5.5; Suet. *Claud.* 3; *Galb.* 4; *Otho*, 4; *Vit.* 14; *Tit.* 2; Tac *Hist.* I. 49). Similarly *Imperator* acquired the meaning "Emperor."
- 23 During his consulship the *Lex Vatinia* conferred on Caesar a proconsulship for five years over Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum, and the senate subsequently added Transalpine Gaul. Pompey and Crassus, consuls in 55, renewed Caesar's command for a further five years. Between 58 and 50 Caesar conquered the whole of Gaul in a series of ruthless campaigns, starting with a victory over the Helvetii at Bibracte (near Autun). He defeated Ariovistus and the Suebi afterwards in 58, then the Usipetes and Tencteri in 55, all German tribes, and made two sorties to Britain in 55 and 54, imposing tribute on the tribes of the south east. By the end of 50 Gaul had been pacified at a remarkably low cost in Roman casualties

- (Livy, *Epit.* CIII-CVIII; Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*; Plut. *Caesar*, 25 ff.).
- 24 In 55 Pompey and Crassus were consuls and the latter received Syria as his province for five years. In 54 he raided Mesopotamia, then wintered in Syria. The following year Crassus crossed the Euphrates at Zeugma and marched south into an ambush which resulted in heavy Roman losses. Near Carrhae Crassus was defeated, his son killed, and his army surrounded. During the ensuing negotiations Crassus was also killed. His quaestor, C. Cassius Longinus, extricated the Roman forces and retreated to Antioch where he defeated the Parthians in late 52 or early 51 (Livy, *Epit.* CV-CVI; Plut. *Crassus*, 15.5 ff.; Dio XL. 12 ff.; Flor. I. 46; Oros. VI. 13).
- 25 At this juncture Livy's *Epitome* reads: "CIX which is the first (book) of the Civil War. The causes and first stages of the Civil War are described and the struggles over sending out a successor to C. Caesar..." Livy clearly realized that this marked a watershed in Roman history and Eutropius' comments appear to echo this sentiment. Cf. Sall. *Cat.* 10.1; Victor, *De Caes.* 24.8-11.
- 26 Caesar's proconsular command in the Gauls and Illyricum was due to end in late 50 or early 49 and he needed to move immediately into the consulship to avoid prosecution as a private citizen. On December 1, 50 the tribune Curio proposed that both Caesar and Pompey should give up their commands simultaneously, which passed in the senate overwhelmingly but was vetoed. Marcellus then asked Pompey to take command of all troops in Italy and he accepted. Caesar's compromise offer was rebuffed on January 1st, 49 and the senate voted that Caesar lay down his command or be declared a public enemy. On January 10th Caesar crossed the Rubicon into Italy and marched on Ariminum. He quickly captured Corfinium, forcing Pompey to withdraw to Brundisium. After further fruitless negotiations Pompey sailed to Greece with a large proportion of the senate, leaving Caesar master of Italy (Livy, *Epit.* CIX; App. *Civ.* II. 4.27 ff.; Dio, XL. 12.3 ff.; Plut. *Caesar*, 29 ff.; Cic. *Ad. Fam.* VIII. 11.3; *Ad. Att.* VI. 2.6; 3.4; Caesar, *Gall.* VIII. 52.4 ff.; *Civ.* I. 7 ff.; Vell. II. 48.3 ff.; Val. Max. IX. 1.6; Suet. *Julius*, 29-34).
- 27 In early August, 49 Caesar defeated Afranius and Petreius with their five legions at Ilerda (Lérida) in N.E. Spain and soon afterwards Varro and his two legions at Cordova (Livy, *Epit.* CX; Caesar, *Civ.* I. 36-58; App. *Civ.* II. 6.42-43).

- 28 In 48 Caesar crossed over to Epirus and besieged Pompey's forces at Dyrrhachium (Durazzo). The latter attacked Caesar's encircling troops and inflicted heavy losses. Caesar retreated into Thessaly, followed by Pompey, but on August 9th at Pharsalus he crushed the Pompeian army which lost 6000 dead and 24,000 captured (Livy, *Epit.* CXI; Caesar, *Civ.* III. 30-99; Plut. *Caesar*, 42; App. *Civ.* II. 8.49 - 11.82). Caesar reports that he had 22,000 men, Pompey 47,000; Plutarch gives 22,000 infantry and 1000 cavalry for Caesar against 45,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry for Caesar, while Appian informs us that Caesar had 21,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry, whereas Pompey had twice that number of soldiers including 7,000 cavalry. On the location of the battle *vid.* C.B.R. Pelling, *Historia* 21, 1973, 249 ff.
- 29 Cf. Livy, *Epit.* CXII; Caesar, *Civ.* III. 103-106; Plut. *Pompey*, 77-80; *Caesar*, 48; Dio, XLII. 1-8; 13 frg. 39a). Pompey was killed on September 28, 48 as he came ashore. The advisors of the young Ptolemy XII Auletes considered that they would thereby ingratiate themselves with Caesar and that a dead Pompey would pose no threat.
- 30 Caesar arrived at Alexandria three days after Pompey's death with a small force of less than 4,000 men. He attempted to settle the conflict between Ptolemy and his sister, Cleopatra, and collect the money which Ptolemy had agreed to pay the triumvirs for their recognition of him. Ptolemy's ministers were offended by his autocratic behaviour and incited the royal guards and city mob to attack him. Throughout the winter of 48/47 he was besieged in the palace quarters with Cleopatra who had been smuggled in. Reinforcements from Syria and Judaea under Mithridates of Pergamum arrived in early spring and enabled Caesar to defeat Ptolemy's army in the Nile Delta and the king died. The crown was awarded to Ptolemy XIV, a younger brother, but Cleopatra in effect ruled Egypt as co-regent (Livy, *Epit.* CXII; Caesar, *Civ.* III. 106-111; *Alex.* 1-33).
- 31 Marching into Asia Minor via Syria Caesar swiftly defeated Pharnaces II of Bosphorus on August 1, 47 at Zela (Zile) in southern Pontus, where Pharnaces' father, Mithridates, had defeated C. Triarius in 67 (Livy, *Epit.* CXIII; Caesar, *Alex.* 65-78; Dio, XLII. 45-49; App. *Civ.* II. 91; *Mith.* XVII. 120 ff.).
- 32 M. Aemilius Lepidus was praetor in 49 and governed Nearer Spain

- in 48-47. Probably in October 47 Caesar had himself and Lepidus elected consuls for 46. In the spring of that year Caesar was appointed dictator for ten years and in turn appointed Lepidus as his *magister equitum* (46-44). M. Antony had held this office from October 48 to October 47, but temporarily lost favour with Caesar because of his severe repression of riots at Rome. Eutropius is therefore incorrect on this point (Livy, *Epit.* CXIII; Plut. *Antony* 9.1; Caesar, *Alex.* 65.1; Dio, XLII. 29-33).
- 33 In December, 47 Caesar landed in Africa where within four months he defeated the Pompeians under Pompey's father-in-law, Q. Metellus Scipio (originally P. Cornelius Scipio, he had been adopted by Metellus Pius), at Thapsus on the Tunisian coast. Caesar's troops massacred most of the Pompeians and only Labienus and Sextus Pompey escaped to Spain. Sulla's son was actually called Faustus Cornelius Sulla: he was seized by P. Sittius in Mauretania while fleeing to Spain and subsequently killed by him, not Caesar (Livy, *Epit.* CXIII-CXIV; Caesar, *Afr.* 79-86; 89; 93-96; App. *Civ.* II. 14.96-100; Dio, XLIII. 1-13; Plut. *Caesar*, 53 ff.; *Cato*, 59-73).
- 34 Caesar spent the summer of 46 in Rome, held a fourfold triumph, reorganized the calendar and had himself appointed dictator for ten years and elected consul again for 45. He left for Spain in late 46 and on March 27th (Julian Calendar) of 45 he was fortunate to win an evenly matched battle at Munda, between Seville and Malaga. Of the Pompeian leaders only Sextus Pompey managed to escape (Livy, *Epit.* CXV; Caesar, *Hisp.* 1-42; App. *Civ.* II. 15.103-105; Dio, XLIII. 29-40).
- 35 In March, 45 Caesar became the undisputed master of the Roman world, on March 15, 44 he was assassinated. His arrogance and lack of *civilitas* are emphasized by the *Epitome* (CXVI) and Eutropius seems to follow his version closely. Cf. Suet. *Caesar*, 78 ff.; Plut. *Caesar*, 60 ff.; Dio, XLIV. 8-11. For another example of Eutropius' attitude in this regard *vid. Brev.* 9.26.
- 36 Eutropius' description of Caesar's death, together with those of the other imitators of Livy's *Epitome*, are examined by Sanders (*op. cit.* in Intro., n.130, 187-189) and compared with the description in the *Epitome* (CXVI). Sanders concludes, on the basis of this and other detailed comparisons, that the imitators followed two differing versions of the *Epitome*.

Book Seven

- 1 Here, as at the beginning and conclusion of the *Breviarium*, Eutropius appears to be giving his own reckoning of the date (44) from 753 and not relying upon his source.
- 2 Antony, Caesar's consular partner in 44, took charge on March 16th, allowed P. Cornelius Dolabella to become suffect consul and encouraged the senate to function. C. Octavius, Caesar's eighteen year old grandnephew, who had been doing his military training in Epirus, arrived at Rome in late April, having already heard that he had been adopted by Caesar. He changed his name to C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus and turned to Antony for his inheritance and support. He was rebuffed and appealed to Caesar's veterans, won over two of Antony's legions and raised additional troops without legal authorization. While Antony was besieging D. Brutus at Mutina Cicero persuaded the senate to make Octavian a senator and proprætor to assist the consuls of 43, Hirtius and Pansa, against Antony. Three armies then converged upon Antony at Mutina (Modena), defeated him and drove him to Transalpine Gaul, but both consuls died, leaving Octavian in command. Antony was declared a public enemy (Livy, *Epit.* CXVII; CXIX; App. *Civ.* III. 2.12-14; 8.49; Vell. II. 59.6; Suet. *Augustus*, 8; 95; Dio, XLV. 4.4).
- 3 Lepidus received Antony and subsequently made overtures to Octavian who had been denied a triumph and an unconstitutional consulship by the senate, which granted a triumph instead to D. Brutus, one of Caesar's assassins, and ordered Octavian to hand over command of his armies to him. Octavian then marched on Rome and forced the senate to grant suffect consulships to himself and his relative, Q. Pedius. After a meeting near Bononia (Bologna) the Second Triumvirate was formed and was formally ratified by the Tribal Assembly on November 27, 43. Proscriptions and political massacres ensued. (Livy, *Epit.* CXIX-CXX; App. *Civ.* IV. 1.6-51; Plut. *Antony*, 19-20; *Res Gestæ* 7; Dio, XLV. 55-56; XLVII. 1-19).
- 4 By the end of 43 Brutus and Cassius controlled all the eastern provinces and had won over all the client rulers except Cleopatra. In 42 Antony initially conducted the war against them alone but was prevented from crossing the Adriatic and was forced to ask Octavian for assistance. Together with 28 legions they broke through the sea blockade and made their way into eastern Macedonia unopposed as

- far as Philippi, where they were stopped by the entrenched armies of Brutus and Cassius which consisted of 19 legions. In early October at the First Battle of Philippi Antony on the right defeated Cassius who killed himself, while Brutus defeated Octavian on the other wing. Some three weeks later Antony defeated Brutus who also committed suicide. Most of the senior officers of the vanquished were executed (Livy, *Epit.* CXXIII-CXXIV; App. *Civ.* IV. 11.83-17.138; Vell. II. 70 ff.; Plut. *Brutus*, 38-53; *Antony* 22; Dio, XLVII. 37-49).
- 5 M. Aemilius Lepidus, as consul for 42, had been left in charge of Rome and Italy during the Macedonian campaigns. After Philippi his triumviral colleagues deprived him of his provinces ostensibly for colluding with Sextus Pompey, but allowed him to rule Africa in 40. The rest of the empire was divided between Antony and Octavian (App. *Civ.* IV.3; V.2.12; 6.52; 7.65).
 - 6 L. Antony, consul in 42, was besieged in Perusia in late 41 by Q. Salvidienus and M. Vipsanius Agrippa, Octavian's generals. Two of Antony's generals in Gaul, P. Ventidius and C. Asinius Pollio, marched their armies close to Perusia but remained inactive, then withdrew, leaving L. Antony to be starved into submission in the winter of 41-40. He was captured but treated honourably by Octavian (Livy, *Epit.* CXXV-CXXVI; App. *Civ.* V. 4.32; 6.50; Vell. II. 74; Dio, XLVIII. 14-16.1).
 - 7 Sextus Pompey was appointed naval commander by the senate in April, 43. Outlawed the following August, he seized Sicily and three years later Sardinia and blockaded Italy. In 39, by the Pact of Misenum, the triumvirs granted him the governorship of Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica and he lifted the blockade. Octavian unsuccessfully attacked him in 38, and again in 36, when he was defeated by Agrippa and Lepidus. Escaping to Asia he was captured and executed by M. Titius (Livy, *Epit.* CXXVII-CXX.; 10.96; 11.98; 12.122; 13.122; 13.133-144; Plut. *Antony*, 32; Suet. *Augustus*, 16; Dio, XLVIII. 30.4; 31; 36-38; XLIX. 1-10; 11.2; 12; 18).
 - 8 By the end of 40 Roman forces loyal to Brutus and Cassius, led by Q. Labienus and Parthians led by Pacorus, son of King Orodes, had seized most of Rome's eastern possessions. P. Ventius, Antony's general, drove the Parthians and their allies out of Syria and killed Pacorus (Livy, *Epit.* CXXVIII; Vell. II. 78.1; Dio, XLIX. 19-21). Again Eutropius provides details not found in the extant *Epitome* as

well as the incorrect *praenomen* and *cognomen* for Ventidius. The triumph was celebrated in 38.

- 9 In 37 Antony sent his wife Octavia back to Rome and summoned Cleopatra to Antioch where he possibly "married" her even though still married to Octavia. He divorced Octavia in 32, upon which Octavian published his will, which acknowledged Caesarion, provided for his children by Cleopatra and arranged for his burial in Alexandria. This was a welcome propaganda *coup* for Octavian. In 36 Antony invaded Parthia with an army of over 100,000 men and penetrated Media Atropatene but failed to capture its chief city Phraaspa (near Tabriz). He retreated through Armenia with severe losses and was unable to resume the offensive until 34 when he overran Armenia and dethroned King Artavasdes. In 33 he again reached Atropatene but was forced to turn back to deal with Octavian (Livy, *Epit.* XXX-CXXXII; Vell. II. 82; Plut. *Antony*, 54.4; Dio; XLIX. 39-41).
- 10 Much of 33 was spent in a war of words between Octavian and Antony. The Second Triumvirate officially ran out at the end of the year, but whereas Octavian gave up his title, Antony kept his. In 32 the consuls C. Sosius and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and over 300 senators left Rome to join Antony. Octavian, elected consul for 31, gained a declaration of war against Cleopatra and prevented Antony from becoming his colleague in the consulship. Antony took his army of some thirty legions and 500 ships to Greece and concentrated them on the promontory of Actium. Octavian's army was of similar size but he possessed 600 ships and, in Agrippa, an admiral of exceptional talent. His army encamped north of Actium and his fleet successfully blockaded Antony's forces. On September 2nd, 31 Antony, needing to break out or have his forces whittled away by attrition, was unsuccessful in the ensuing sea battle and he and Cleopatra escaped with part of the fleet, leaving Octavian the victor and master of the Roman world. The following summer Antony and Cleopatra committed suicide, allowing Octavian to annex Egypt, which he administered directly as a private possession through an equestrian prefect, C. Cornelius Gallus (Livy, *Epit.* CXXXIII; Vell. II. 84-87; Plut. *Antony*, 63-86; Dio, L. 14.1-35). Eutropius and Festus (13) employ the term *iudex* (judge) to describe Gallus' position, which is in keeping with late imperial usage when *iudex* could indicate any official endowed with administrative or

jurisdictional power (*C.J.* 3.1.14.1). Gallus is called prefect on *ILS* 8995.

- 11 Augustus returned to Rome in the summer of 30 in the thirteenth year after he had become consul. Eutropius probably assumed that he returned soon after Actium. He ruled alone for forty-four years less thirteen days according to Dio (*LVI.* 31.1), and for fifty-six years all told, counting from his consulship in 43. He died at Nola on August 19th, A.D. 14 (*Suet. Aug.* 100; *Tac. Ann.* I. 5). Only Eutropius and Eusebius (*H.E.* I. 9.2) state incorrectly that he died at Atella. At this juncture Eutropius clearly changed sources and turned to the *Kaisergeschichte* (*vid.* introduction). This work seems to have been an abbreviation of Suetonius' *De Vita Caesarum* and Marius Maximus' *Lives* with minor additions in the manner of Livy's *Epitome*. Cf. A. Cohn, *Quibus ex fontibus S. Aurelii Victoris et Libri de Caesaribus et Epitomes undecima capita priora fluxerint* (Berlin, 1884), 37 ff.
- 12 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* I. 6.
- 13 Under Augustus Egypt was added to the empire in 30, between 27 and 25 B.C. Spain was finally subdued, in 25 the Salassi and Vindelici were conquered and Galatia annexed and between 22 and 19 an agreement was reached with Parthia which saw the restoration of Crassus' lost standards (May 12, 20) and the establishment of a Roman protectorate in Armenia. In 19 the Garamantes were defeated, in 16 and 15 Rhaetia and Noricum were made provinces, in 14 the Bosphorus was given to Polemo of Pontus, between 13 and 9 Illyricum was taken over and in Germany Drusus advanced to the Elbe. Finally in A.D. 6 Paphlagonia was added to Galatia and Judaea was annexed. No mention is made of Varus' disaster in A.D. 9 with the loss of three legions, for that would have spoiled the positive picture of this exemplary ruler. Cf. *Suet. Aug.* 21; *Tib.* 9; Victor, *De Caes.* 1; Victor, *Epit.* 1. Close parallels between Suetonius' account and that of Eutropius are particularly notable in this section.
- 14 Cf. *Suet. Aug.* 60. The added details given by Eutropius show that he was using a modified version of Suetonius here. Juba II of Mauretania refounded his capital Iol as Caesarea (Cherchel) after 20. It developed into the third most important African port. Caesarea Palestinae (Kasisariyeh) was built on the site of Strato's Tower by Herod the Great between 22 and 10 with a huge artificial harbour

and a dyeing industry. It became a large commercial centre and from A.D. 6 onwards the capital of Judaea.

- 15 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 1.6; 2.1.
- 16 The long, eventful reign of Tiberius (A.D. 13-37) merits less than eight lines in the *Breviarium*: even the accounts of the reigns of Galba, Otho and Vitellius are longer. Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 2; Victor, *Epit.* 2. The sections dealing with the Kings and Archelaus and the dating of Tiberius' death and length of reign are almost verbatim reproductions of Suet. *Tib.* 37 and 73. Mazaca, the capital of Cappadocia, was renamed Caesarea by King Archelaus for Augustus, not Tiberius, between 13 and 9 (Festus, II.; *vid.* Eadie, *op. cit.* 123). From A.D. 17 it became the capital of the Roman province when Tiberius annexed Cappadocia (Tac. *Ann.* II. 42). Here Eutropius appears to have confused the annexation with the renaming. He probably visited the city with Valens in A.D. 365 (Ammianus, 26.7.2) and possibly on other occasions, which would explain his personal comment.
- 17 Cf. Suet. *Calig.* 1; Victor, *De Caes.* 3.1-2. Drusus was Caligula's paternal grandfather, Tiberius became his grandfather by adopting Germanicus in A.D. 4. He had already become Caligula's maternal stepgrandfather by marrying Julia in 11.
- 18 For Caligula's theatrical invasion of Germany *vid.* Suet. *Calig.* 45; Victor *De Caes.* 3.12. According to Suetonius he committed incest with Drusilla and his other two sisters (*Calig.* 24), but the daughter whom he acknowledged as Julia Drusilla was born to him by Caesonia (*Calig.* 25). Victor also briefly notes the abortive German expedition and his defiling of his sisters (*De Caes.* 3.10-11). The date of his death and length of his reign derive *via* the *Kaisergeschichte* from Suet. *Calig.* 59.
- 19 Suetonius (*Claud.* 15) states that sometimes Claudius was wise and prudent, sometimes thoughtless and hasty, sometimes foolish and apparently senseless. Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 4.1.
- 20 Claudius embarked upon the conquest of Britain in A.D. 43 and celebrated a triumph the following year (Suet. *Claud.* 17; Victor, *De Caes.* 4.2). A number of details here do not derive from Suetonius. Tacitus (*Agr.* 10) states that Agricola's fleet discovered and conquered the Orkneys, but clearly they were already known to the Roman world (*Pliny*, N.H. 4.103; *Mela*, 3.6.54; cf. *Juv. Sat.* II. 160). At any rate Eutropius' claim seems improbable; cf. C.E. Stevens,

- C.R. I (1951), 7-9. For Claudius' death, length of reign and deification *vid.* Suet. *Claud.* 45.
- 21 Cf. Suet. *Calig.* 37; *Nero*, 30 for the original derivation of these stories. They had probably been joined by the author of the *Kaisergeschichte*.
 - 22 For Nero's stage performances *vid.* 20-22; Victor, *De Caes.* 5.5.
 - 23 Nero was responsible for the deaths of his stepbrother Britannicus, his first wife Octavia, his mother Agrippina and, by accident, his second wife Poppaea Sabina (Suet. *Nero*, 33-35).
 - 24 Cf. Suet. *Nero*, 38; Victor, *De Caes.* 5.14; Tac. *Ann.* XV. 38-41. The great fire of Rome started on July 19, A.D. 64 and damaged or destroyed ten of Rome's fourteen regions. Nero was generally blamed for it, though he was at Antium at the time and Tacitus expresses uncertainty.
 - 25 Cf. Suet. *Nero*, 39. In A.D. 60 Boudicca, queen of the Iceni, rebelled and devastated Camulodunum (Colchester), London and also Verulamium (St. Albans). *Vid.* D.R. Dudley and G. Webster, *The Rebellion of Boudicca* (London, 1962). L. Caesennius Paetus surrendered to the Parthians at Rhandaia in A.D. 62 after Cn. Domitius Corbulo had subdued Armenia and placed Tigranes on the throne as their client king. The report that Paetus' army was sent under the yoke is dismissed by Tacitus but accepted by Suetonius, Eutropius and Orosius. (Tac. *Ann.* XIII 7-9; 34-41; XIV. 23-26; XV. 1-7; 24-31; Dio, LXII. 19-23; K. Gilmartin, *Historia* 22, 1973, 583 ff.).
 - 26 Cf. Suet. *Nero*, 8. The wording here and above is almost identical with that of Suetonius. The Alpes Cottiae became a procuratorial province in c. A.D. 58 and Pontus was annexed about six years later.
 - 27 Cf. Suet. *Nero*, 12; 48; 49. In A.D. 61 Nero built the gymnasium and Baths named after himself on the Campus Martius, N.E. of the Pantheon. Alexander Severus rebuilt and extended them (H.A. *Alex.* 25.3-4). Victor (*De Caes.* 5.17) also emphasizes that with Nero the family of the Caesars came to an end, a statement presumably borrowed *via* the *Kaisergeschichte* from Suet. *Galb.* 1.1.
 - 28 Cf. Suet. *Galb.* 2; Victor, *De Caes.* 6.1; Tac. *Hist.* I. 16; Plut. *Galb.* 3.1.
 - 29 Cf. Suet. *Galb.* 9-10; Victor, *De Caes.* 6.1-3; Tac. *Hist.* I. 5 ff. In spring A.D. 68 Gaius Julius Vindex, governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, revolted and made overtures to Servius Sulpicius Galba, a

distinguished soldier and administrator who, supported by M. Salvius Otho, governor of Lusitania, and A. Caecina, quaestor of Baetica, declared himself legate of the Roman senate and people. Galba ruled from Nero's death on June 9, A.D. 68 until his murder by Otho's assassins on January 15, A.D. 69.

- 30 Otho was Nero's friend until the latter seduced his wife, Poppaea Sabina, and sent Otho to Lusitania in A.D. 58. After supporting Galba in A.D. 68 he expected to be named Galba's heir but, when Galba chose Piso, Otho had Galba killed and seized the throne with the support of the praetorians. On April 6, A.D. 69 Otho's forces defeated Vitellius' lieutenant, Caecina, near Bedriacum, but on April 14 Caecina, reinforced by Valen's army, defeated Otho near Cremona and forced him back to Bedriacum. Two days later Otho committed suicide, ninety-one days after assuming power, at the age of thirty-seven. Suetonius gives his age as thirty-seven and the length of his reign as ninety-four days (Suet. *Otho*, 11). Cf. Tac. *Hist.* I. 13-II. 50. Victor (*De Caes.* 7.2) says Otho ruled approximately eighty-five days.
- 31 Aulus Vitellius (*cos.* A.D. 48) was made appointed legate of Lower Germany by Galba in A.D. 68. His troops acclaimed him emperor on January 2nd, A.D. 69. His father, L. Vitellius, had been ordinary consul in A.D. 34, 43 and 47 and was a close friend of Caligula and Claudius despite the fact that his father, P. Vitellius, had been a Roman knight from Nuceria. Most of Eutropius' information derives ultimately from Suetonius (*Vit.* 13; 17; 18); cf. Tac. *Hist.* I. 9-III. 85. Tacitus also stresses Vitellius' gluttony (*Hist.* II. 62). Vitellius was born on September 24th or 7th, A.D. 15 (Suet. *Vit.* 3) and died on December 20, A.D. 69 (Dio, LXV. 22.1) i.e. in his fifty-fifth year, despite the statements of Suetonius (*Vit.* 18) and Eutropius who say that he died in his fifty-seventh year. Victor (*De Caes.* 8) gives seventy-five, which is presumably due to a copyist's inversion (P. Dufraigne, *Aurelius Victor: Livre des Césars*, Paris, 1975, 90). Both Eutropius and Victor (*loc. cit.*) state that he died in the eighth month of his reign, perhaps reckoning inclusively from April 16th, but more probably following an earlier statement by Suetonius (*Vit.* 15) via the *Kaisergeschichte* that in the eighth month he was repudiated by the Pannonian and Moesian armies.
- 32 Titus Flavius Vespasianus was born in a small village near Sabine Reate on November 17, A.D. 9. His father was a tax collector (Suet.

Vesp. 1-2). Vespasian gained the praetorship in A.D. 40, commanded the 2nd Augustan Legion in Claudius' invasion of Britain. Cf. Suet. *Vesp.* 4, where the wording is almost identical. Suffect consul in A.D. 51 he had to wait until c. A.D. 63 for his proconsulship of Africa. In February, A.D. 67 Nero gave him the task of suppressing the Jewish rebellion which he had largely completed by June A.D. 68. The two Egyptian legions acclaimed him emperor on July 1, A.D. 69 and the Judaeac and Syrian legions followed their example a few days later. In August the Danubian legions declared for him and marched into Italy, entering Rome on December 21st. All of the information in Eutropius' account can be traced back to Suetonius, where, however, it appears in quite a different order.

- 33 Cf. Suet. *Vesp.* 12.1.
- 34 Cf. Suet. *Vesp.* 16-19. Suetonius informs us that Vespasian declared that he needed 40,000 million sesterces at the beginning of his reign to restore the imperial finances.
- 35 Cf. Suet. *Vesp.* 8; Victor, *De Caes.* 9.10. The common error of Eutropius and Victor that Judaea was formed into a province at this juncture may be traced to the *Kaisergeschichte*. In fact, Judaea was annexed in A.D. 6. Claudius briefly placed it under the control of Agrippa II in A.D. 41 but re-annexed it three years later.
- 36 Cf. Suet. *Vesp.* 13.
- 37 Cf. Suet. *Vesp.* 8.
- 38 Cf. Suet. *Vesp.* 24. Suetonius states that he died on June 23rd, A.D. 79 in his sixty-ninth year on the seventh day of the seventh month. He ruled ten years less seven days. It was probably the author of the *Kaisergeschichte* who was responsible for the incorrect computation in this regard.
- 39 Cf. Suet. *Vesp.* 13; 25. The account of Vespasian's reign by Victor (*De Caes.* 9) is somewhat longer and contains a number of perceptive personal comments.
- 40 Titus Flavius Vespasianus (A.D. 41-81) was consul in A.D. 70 and captured Jerusalem in August of that year. He received the tribunician power on July 1, A.D. 71, shared seven of his father's eight subsequent consulships and the censorship of A.D. 73 and became praetorian prefect early in the reign.
- 41 Eutropius begins his account in the same way that Suetonius had commenced his life of Titus and uses the same expression: "the darling and delight of the human race." Victor (*De Caes.* 10.6)

reserves this expression for the conclusion of his account.

- 42 Cf. Suet. *Tit.* 3.
- 43 Cf. Suet. *Tit.* 5.
- 44 Cf. Suet. *Tit.* 9; Victor, *De Caes.* 10.3-4.
- 45 Cf. Suet. *Tit.* 8.
- 46 Cf. Suet. *Tit.* 7; Victor, *De Caes.* 10.5. The Flavian amphitheatre (Colosseum) and Baths were inaugurated in A.D. 79.
- 47 Cf. Suet. *Tit.* 11; Victor, *De Caes.* 10.5-6. Titus became emperor on June 23rd, A.D. 79 and died on September 13th, A.D. 81, i.e. two years, *two* months and twenty days, as Suetonius states. A copyist was probably responsible for changing *duo* to *octo*. He was born on December 30, A.D. 41 (Suet. *Tit.* 1), which would put him in his fortieth year when he died. The error here is due to Suetonius' faulty computation. Neither Eutropius nor Victor note the eruption of Vesuvius or the fire at Rome in A.D. 79, not wishing to stain the image of Titus' exemplary reign, but Victor's epitomator (*Epit.* 10.12-13), mentions these disasters. They may have appeared in the *Kaisergeschichte*. Eutropius alone informs us of Titus' consecration, a subject which evidently fascinated him (Den Boer, *op. cit.*, 151 ff.). Suetonius and Victor presumably did not feel this was necessary.
- 48 Titus Flavius Domitianus was born on October 24, A.D. 51. Though granted two ordinary consulships and five suffect consulships by his father and brother he received no positions of real power before his accession.
- 49 These three emperors had become archetypal villains by the fourth century; cf. H.A. *Elag.* 33.1 *et al.*
- 50 Cf. Suet. *Domit.* 3; 10, where he is described as ruling in an uneven fashion initially. Subsequently he transformed his virtues into vices. Victor (*De Caes.* 11.2 ff.), followed by his epitomator (*Epit.* 11.2 ff.), maintain that he at first simulated clemency and acted energetically at home and abroad, then lapsed into robbery, murder and torture and demanded to be addressed as *Lord* and *God*, for which cf. Suet. *Domit.* 13).
- 51 On his campaigns cf. Suet. *Domit.* 6; Victor, *De Caes.* 11.4; Victor, *Epit.* 11.2. Domitian defeated the Chatti in A.D. 83 and annexed Mt. Taunus and the triangle of land between the upper Rhine and Danube. In A.D. 85 Oppius Sabinus was defeated and killed by the Dacians and the following year Cornelius Fuscus was defeated while invading Dacia and lost the Legio V. Alaudae. In A.D. 88, however,

Domitian's general Julianus won a victory at Tapae. A rebellion in Upper Germany by L. Antonius Saturninus that year and a further defeat in A.D.89 by the Sarmatian Iazyges, and the Marcomanni and Quadi compelled Domitian to make peace with the Dacians. This allowed Domitian to drive back the new attackers. Finally, in A.D. 92 the Iazyges, Marcomanni and Quadi again attacked Pannonia and destroyed the Legio XXI Rapax, but were eventually dislodged and the Iazyges were soundly beaten. It is instructive that Domitian only celebrated triumphs over the Chatti and Dacians.

- 52 Domitian was responsible for an ambitious building programme at Rome and elsewhere. He erected new temples to Jupiter Capitolinus on the Capitol, to Jupiter Custos on the Quirinal, and rebuilt temples to Janus, Castor and Apollo. He also completed the Flavian Amphitheatre, which Vespasian had initiated and Titus had dedicated, and in the Campus Martius he built an Odeum, a Stadium and a Circus. He further constructed a temple of Isis and Serapis, the Arch of Titus, a mansion on the Palatine, a villa on the Alban Lake, a shopping centre in the Saepta, granaries and water works and refurbished the portico of Octavia and the Pantheon (Suet. *Domit.* 5; Victor, *De Caes.* 11.4; Victor, *Epi.* 11.3; A Garzetti, *From Tiberius to the Antonines*, Eng. trans. J.R. Foster, London, 1974, 282-283).
- 53 Suetonius says that Domitian was assassinated on September 18, A.D. 96, in the forty-fifth year of his life, the fifteenth of his reign and he was given a shameful funeral (*Domit.* 17). Dio (LXVII. 18) specifies that he lived forty-four years, ten months and twenty-six days. Victor (*De Caes.* 11.7) gives the same figures as Eutropius but used the word *dominatio*, not *imperium*, for his reign.

Book Eight

- 1 M. Cocceius Nerva, a senior senator, was born at Narnia in Italy and was ordinary consul in A.D. 71 and 90. At this juncture both Eutropius and Aurelius Victor (*De Caes.* 11.12-13) insert an introductory note. This may indicate that their source, the *Kaisergeschichte*, which had turned to Marius Maximus for its information on the emperors from Nerva to Elagabalus (R. Syme, *Ammanianus and the Historia Augusta*, Oxford, 1968, 90, 106), also began its account of Nerva's reign with an introductory comment. The accurate dating may have appeared in the *Kaisergeschichte*, but

- since the *Historia Augusta*, following Marius Maximus and the *Kaisergeschichte*, uses consular dating, and Eutropius himself accurately computes the reign of Jovian from the founding of Rome in 753, I feel that Eutropius was responsible for the a.u.c. dating.
- 2 Those who conspired to kill Domitian and elevate Nerva included his wife, Domitia, his chamberlain, Parthenius, and the new praetorian prefects, Petronius Secundus and Norbanus. The actual assassin was Stephanus, his niece Domitilla's steward, aided by Parthenius' servants (Suet. *Domit.* 16-17; Dio, LXVII. 15-18; Victor, *Epit.* 11.11; 12.2). Parthenius and Petronius were executed in A.D. 97 at the insistence of the praetorians (Dio, LXVIII. 3; Victor, *Epit.* 12.8).
 - 3 Cf. Dio, LXVIII. 3; 4; Victor, *De Caes.* 12.4; Victor, *Epit.* 12.9. The childless Nerva adopted Trajan in October, A.D. 97.
 - 4 If one accepts Dio's statement (LXVIII. 4) Nerva was born on March 18th, A.D. 32, lived sixty-five years, ten months and ten days, and ruled sixteen months and nine days. He died on January 27th or 28th, A.D. 98. Victor (*De Caes.* 12.2) remarks that he ruled sixteen months, his epitomator (*Epit.* 12.2) states that he ruled sixteen months and ten days and died at the age of sixty-two (*Epit.* 12.11). The *Kaisergeschichte* probably gave sixty-two or sixty-second and Eutropius or his copyist made this error in transmission.
 - 5 Marcus Upius Traianus was born at Italica (near Seville) in Baetica in A.D. 53, served in Syria, was quaestor and praetor, then legionary commander in Spain. Transferred to Germany in A.D. 88 he was ordinary consul in A.D. 91 and Governor of Upper Germany in A.D. 97. Victor (*De Caes.* 13.1) also observes that Trajan was born at Italica in Spain whereas his epitomator (*Epit.* 13.1) incorrectly notes that he was born at Tudertina but then agrees with Eutropius in stating that Trajan was at Cologne in Gaul (actually the capital of Lower Germany) when he received news of Nerva's death. Cf. *H.A. Hadr.* 1.2; 2.5-6. For the *cognomen* Crinitus *vid.* Syme, *Emperors and Biography*, 100.
 - 6 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 13.2; 8; Victor, *Epit.* 13.2-5 for similar statements.
 - 7 On Trajan's Dacian wars and annexation of Dacia (A.D. 101-107) *vid.* Dio, LXVIII. 6-14; Victor, *De Caes.* 13.3. On the Taifali and Thervingi with whom Eutropius was acquainted from his campaigns with Valens in A.D. 367-369, *vid.* J. Matthews, *The Roman World of Ammianus* (London, 1989), 316 ff. The Victohali are mentioned by

Ammianus (17.12.19) for the year A.D. 358. Eutropius' knowledge of the circumference of Dacia probably derived from his administrative duties.

- 8 In c. A.D. 110 Chosroes of Parthia deposed Tiridates of Armenia and installed Axidares as king. Unwilling to accept a Parthian puppet on the Armenian throne Trajan set out from Rome in October, A.D. 113 to restore Roman prestige. At Athens Chosroes envoys met him, informing him that Axidares had been deposed and asking that the latter's elder brother, Parthamasiris, be granted the throne. Trajan refused to decide and in A.D. 114 captured Arsamosata in Armenia and met with Parthamasiris, but instead of crowning him, proclaimed Armenia a Roman province. Parthamasiris was dismissed and died mysteriously soon afterwards (Dio, LXVIII 17.1-20.4; Festus. 20; Arrian, *Parth. frgms.*, 37-40; Fronto, *Princ. Hist.* 15).
- 9 Cf. Festus, 20, where an almost identical list is given, and Eadie, *op. cit.*, 139. In A.D. 114 Trajan seized Upper Mesopotamia with the fortress cities of Nisibis and Singara. The following year he accepted the submission of the Cardueni (Gordiene) and the Marcomedi (Media Atrapatane) and annexed Anthemusia. Two Roman armies then pushed down the Euphrates and the Tigris. In A.D. 116 the Romans marched south along the rivers to capture Assyria (Adiabene) and Babylonia, and seize both Seleucia and Ctesiphon, forcing Chosroes to flee. (F.A. Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War*, Oxford, 1948; Garzetti, *op. cit.*, 367-373). The Messenii were either the inhabitants of Mesene in Babylia (Ammianus, 24.3.12) or those of an island at the mouth of the Tigris (Dio, LXVIII. 18.3).
- 10 Trajan sailed down the Tigris to the Persian Gulf (not the Red Sea; Dio, LXVIII. 28.3; cf. C. Préaux, *Phoibos* 5, 1950-51, 134; C. Starr, *The Roman Imperial Navy*, 2nd ed. Cambridge, 1960, 113 and Lepper, *op. cit.*, 159). If Trajan did establish a fleet to ravage India it must have proven short-lived for he was forced to hurry back in A.D. 117 by rebellions and Parthian counter-attacks in Mesopotamia, Armenia and Adiabene, and Jewish revolts in Cyrene, Cyprus and Egypt. Arabia Nabataea (Petraea) was annexed in A.D. 106, but Eutropius refers here to the Skenite Arab kingdom of Manus (Dio, LXVII. 21-22).
- 11 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 13.8-10; Victor, *Epit.* 13.4-5; Dio, LXVIII. 6.3-7.5. Eutropius' account of Trajan's personal virtues is fuller and even more laudatory than those of Victor or the epitomator.

- 12 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 13.5; Victor, *Epit.* 13.6; 11;13. At Rome Trajan constructed a huge Bath complex, a Forum, a naumachy, the Basilica Ulpia, Latin and Greek libraries, a market and his celebrated column. In the provinces, among his other projects, he built a bridge over the Danube at Drobeta, many bridges and roads, a town and monument called Tropaeum Traianis at Adamklissi in southern Roumania and other towns on the Rhine, in N. Africa and elsewhere. Ammianus (16.10.15) was particularly impressed by Trajan's Forum.
- 13 According to Dio (LXVIII. 6.4) he did not envy or kill anyone.
- 14 For similar anecdotes *vid.* Victor, *De Caes.* 13.9; Dio LXVIII, 15.6. Marius Maximus, following the fashion of Suetonius, probably included a number of such anecdotes in his biographies and the *Kaisergeschichte* presumably retained a few of them.
- 15 Trajan died of a stroke at Selinus, later Traianopolis, in Cilicia probably on August 8th, A.D. 117 after reigning nineteen years, six months and fifteen days, according to Dio (LXVIII. 33.3). Cf. *H.A. Hadr.* 4.6. In Trajan's day Isauria was part of Cilicia but was separated from the latter by Diocletian. The emperor was probably sixty-three at his death, as Eutropius states, though Victor's epitomator (*Epit.* 13.14) says he was sixty-four. The error regarding Trajan's place of death was probably in the *Kaisergeschichte*. It is possible that Trajan's body was conveyed to Seleucia and there cremated in the presence of Hadrian, who had travelled from Antioch for the ceremony (*H.A. Hadr.* 5.9).
- 16 Trajan's column, including the base, is 128 feet high, with a frieze, documenting his Dacian wars, of 2500 figures. It was surmounted by a statue of the emperor. Though not intended to serve as a tomb the senate decided to deposit his remains in its base (Dio, LXIX. 2.3; Victor, *Epit.* 13.11).
- 17 Trajan became an exemplar of military and civic virtues (Ammianus, 16.1.4; 21.16.11; 30.9.1; Julian, *Symp.* 328B). The title *Optimus* was used unofficially for him in A.D. 100 and officially on coins from A.D. 103 onwards. Eutropius alone is responsible for our knowledge of the senate's prayer for the new emperors in the fourth century, that they be "more fortunate than Augustus, better than Trajan."
- 18 Publius Aelius Hadrianus was born at Italica in Spain on January 24th, A.D. 76. Left fatherless at the age of ten he became a ward of Trajan, whose aunt had married Hadrian's grandfather. There were conflicting accounts regarding his adoption, cf. Dio, LXIX. 1.1-4;

H.A. *Hadr.* 1.1 ff; 3.10-4.10; Victor, *De Caes.* 13.11-13. Despite Dio's firm statement, based upon the investigations of his father, governor of Cilicia, that there was no adoption by Trajan and that Plotina, Trajan's wife, and Attianus, the Praetorian prefect, had faked it, Hadrian was the natural choice to succeed since he was governor of Syria, commander of the eastern army and Trajan's closest male relative.

- 19 For Hadrian's envious disposition *vid.* Dio, LXIX. 3.2-4.6; Victor, *Epit.* 14.6. Festus, 20 also notes that Hadrian was envious of Trajan but probably derived this from Eutropius. Hadrian surrendered Assyria, Mesopotamia and Armenia soon after his accession (H.A. *Hadr.* 5.3; 21.11-12; Fronto, *Princ. Hist.* 10; Jerome, *ann.* 117, p. 197; August. *Civ. Dei*, 4.29; Jord. *Rom.* 270), and made Parthamaspates ruler of Osroene (Dio, LXVIII. 33.1; H.A. *Hadr.* 5.4). This action, however, was based upon a sober assessment of the situation and the rulers of these states became clients of Rome (cf. H.A. *Hadr.* 5.3) so that Roman influence in the area was greater than before Trajan's campaigns.
- 20 The surrender of the new eastern provinces was not popular with the extreme imperialists such as Lusius Quietus, A. Cornelius Palma, L. Publius Celsus and C. Avidius Nigrinus. Quietus was dismissed by Hadrian and the four were subsequently found guilty of conspiring against Hadrian by Hadrian's friends in the senate and executed (Dio LXIX. 1.5; H.A. *Hadr.* 7.3). They may well have spread the rumour that Hadrian wished to give up Dacia, which probably appeared in Marius Maximus and reached Eutropius *via* the *Kaisergeschichte*. It was given some credence by the fact that Hadrian demolished Trajan's bridge over the Danube (Dio, LXVIII. 13.6). But Dacia was too rich a prize to be given up, as Hadrian realized. In addition to its gold and other metal deposits it had received an influx of settlers from the Danubian provinces and the east.
- 21 There were revolts in Mauretania and Britain early in Hadrian's reign which Hadrian suppressed. In Britain the Legio IX Hispanica was destroyed and Hadrian was forced to build his celebrated wall, 73 miles long, between the Tyne and the Solway (A.D. 122-128). The revolt which Eutropius mentions here, however, was that of the Jews (A.D. 132-135), caused by his construction of a shrine to Jupiter Capitolinus on the Temple site at Jerusalem, which he renamed Colonia Aelia Capitolina. Jerusalem was besieged and taken and the

rebellion savagely repressed and Judaea became Syria Palaestina, with a consular governor and two legions to hold it. The Jewish prisoners were killed, other combatants were later rounded up and sold as slaves and the population of Jerusalem was dispersed. The Jews lost their homeland until May, A.D. 1948. The governor mentioned here was Sex. Minicius Faustinus Julius Severus (Dio, LXIX. 12.1-15.1; H.A. *Hadr.* 14.2). Neither Victor nor his epitomator mentions this revolt and the H.A., apart from a passing reference states elsewhere (*Hadr.* 21.8) that there were no serious campaigns under Hadrian and the wars that were waged by him were concluded almost in silence. Presumably the *Kaisergeschichte* carried the barest of comments.

- 22 Hadrian, for reasons of military and administrative organization and simple interest, toured most of the provinces between A.D. 120/121 and 132/133, and was responsible for much construction in Italy and abroad (Dio, LXIX. 9.1 ff.; H.A. *Hadr.* 1.1-11.2; 12.1-13; 13.6-14.6).
- 23 Cf. H.A. *Hadr.* 14.8; 15.10 ff. 25.10; Victor, *De Caes.* 14.1-4; Victor, *Epit.* 14.2.
- 24 Cf. Dio, LXIX. 5.2; 9; H.A. *Hadr.* 10.2 ff.; 20.3.
- 25 Hadrian died of dropsy and consumption at Baiae, a resort near Naples, on July 10th, A.D. 138 at the age of sixty-two years, five months and nineteen days, after a reign of twenty-years and eleven months (Dio, LXIX. 23.1; cf. H.A. *Hadr.* 25.5-7; 11; Victor, *De Caes.* 14.1-4; Victor, *Epit.* 14.12).
- 26 Cf. Dio, LXIX. 23.2-3; LXX.1.2; H.A. *Hadr.* 24.4; 27. 1-4; *Pius*, 2.4; Victor, *De Caes.* 14.13-14. As Dio remarks, if the senate had refused to deify Hadrian and had annulled his acts, then Hadrian's adoption of Antoninus Pius would have been revoked, too. It appears likely that Pius managed to save some senators condemned to execution by Hadrian in his final days when his mind was unhinged by his pain and sickness.
- 27 Titus Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Antoninus was born at Lanuvium near Rome on the 19th of September, A.D. 86. His father's family came from Nîmes in Transalpine Gaul and both his father and grandfather had held consulships. Pius was ordinary consul in A.D. 120 and proconsul of Asia between A.D. 133 and 136. Adopted by Hadrian in A.D. 138 he became emperor upon the death of Hadrian on July 10th of that year. He was awarded the title Pius later the same year by the senate, either because of his loyalty to Hadrian or

because of his devotion to the state and the gods, or because he had saved several senators whom Hadrian had condemned to death (*H.A. Hadr.*, 27.2; *Pius*, 1; 4-6; Victor, *De Caes.* 14.13-14; 15.1-2; Victor, *Epit.* 15.1-2; Dio. *Epit.* LXX; Oros. 7.14). Both the *H.A.* (*Pius*, 2.2; 13.4) and Victor's epitomator (*Epit.* 15.3) state that he deserved to be compared to Numa Pompilius. The statement was probably carried by the *Kaisergeschichte* but derived ultimately from Marius Maximus (*H.A. Pius*, 11.3).

- 28 Cf. *H.A. Pius*, 9.6-10; Victor, *Epit.* 15.4. Neither Eutropius nor Victor mention the wars Pius was forced to wage in Britain, where he built the Antonine Wall, western Mauretania, Germany, Dacia, Egypt, Greece and against the Jews (cf. *H.A. Pius*, 5.4-5) and Victor's epitomator (*Epit.* 15.3) even states that there was no war in his twenty-three year reign since all kings, nations and people so feared and loved him. Similarly none of the natural disasters which occurred in his reign are mentioned (*H.A. Pius*, 9.1-3). Marius Maximus must have given the details in his biography but the *Kaisergeschichte* probably did not. They would have marred the picture of what was subsequently regarded as a perfect reign.
- 29 He died at Lorium on March 7th, A.D. 161 at the age of seventy-four, in the twenty-third year of his reign: cf. *H.A. Pius*, 1.8; 12.4; Victor, *De Caes.* 15.4; Victor, *Epit.* 15.7; Dio, LXXI. 1.1 [*Xiph.*]. The accounts of Eutropius and the epitomator are very similar but the latter uses different wording and adds further details so it appears that both were following the *Kaisergeschichte* at this juncture.
- 30 Marcus Annius Verus was born at Rome on April 26th, A.D. 121 to a family of Spanish origin. His grandfather was raised to patrician status by Vespasian and Titus in A.D. 73. (*H.A. Marc. Aur.* 1.1 ff.). Marius Maximus provided the details of the family origins from Numa Pompilius and King Malemnus of the Sallentini in Calabria (*H.A. Marc. Aur.* 1.6). From him they passed via the *Kaisergeshchichte* to Eutropius. Marcus was adopted in A.D. 138 by Antoninus Pius and became M. Aelius Aurelius Verus Caesar. Two years later he was betrothed to his cousin, Faustina, Pius' daughter, whom he married in A.D. 145 while serving his second consulship. Soon afterwards he received the proconsular *imperium* and the *tribunicia potestas* but remained *Caesar* until his accession.
- 31 Lucius Ceionius Commodus (b. Dec. A.D. 130) was adopted by Antoninus Pius in A.D. 138 and became L. Aelius Aurelius

- Commodus. On succeeding to the throne in A.D. 161 he became L. Aurelius Verus and M. Aurelius immediately invested him with the title *Augustus*, so that Rome had indeed for the first time two *Augusti* (H.A. *Marc. Aur.* 7.5-6; *Verus* 3.8-4.1; Victor, *De Caes.* 16.3). In A.D. 164 Verus married M. Aurelius' daughter, Lucilla, thus becoming M. Aurelius' son-in-law as well as adoptive brother. For the variants of L. Verus' name in the Latin sources *vid. R. Syme, Emperors and Biography* (Oxford; 1971), 80.
- 32 In A.D. 161 Vologaeses III of Parthia seized Armenia and defeated two Roman armies. Verus arrived at Antioch early in A.D. 163, but it was his generals Statius Priscus, who recovered Armenia in A.D. 163 and placed a Roman nominee on the throne, and Avidius Cassius, who captured Seleucia and Ctesiphon two years later and made Mesopotamia a Roman protectorate (Dio, LXXI. 2; H.A. *Marc. Aur.* 8.6; 9.1-2; *Verus*, 7.1; Victor, *De Caes.* 16.4; Oros. 7.15.2). Before A.D. 166 Verus returned to Rome to celebrate a triumph with M. Aurelius (H.A. *Marc. Aur.* 12.8-10; *Verus*, 7.9; Victor, *De Caes.* 16.4; Jerome, *Ann.* 165, p. 205 [Helm]; Oros. 7.15.2).
- 33 Verus died at Altino, at the mouth of the Piave, in January, A.D. 169. The accounts of Victor (*De Caes.* 16.9) and particularly of the H.A. (*Marc. Aur.* 14.8; *Verus*, 9.11), Victor's epitomator (*Epit.* 16.5) and Orosius (7.15.5) are very similar and all but Victor, who is non-committal, make the same error, that he ruled eleven years or was in his eleventh year when he died. He actually ruled a little less than eight years. The information again stems from the *Kaisergeschichte*. It is noteworthy that Eutropius omits all mention of the scurrilous story that M. Aurelius tried to poison Verus when he offered him part of a sow's womb. (Victor, *De Caes.* 16.6-8; H.A. *Verus*, 11.2). It was presumably in both Marius Maximus and in the *Kaisergeschichte*. Eutropius had no sympathy for such despicable gossip and similarly omitted the scandalous rumours concerning Faustina (cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 16.2; H.A. *Marc. Aur.* 19.1-9; 16.5; *Verus*, 10.1).
- 34 Cf. H.A. *Marc. Aur.* 16.3-7; *Verus*, 2.1-4; Victor, *Epit.* 16.7, where the descriptions are almost identical. Both Eutropius and the H.A. were wrong in stating that Hadrian wished M. Aurelius to become Pius' son-in-law. Hadrian had, in fact, betrothed M. Aurelius to L. Aelius' daughter, Ceionia Fabia, in A.D. 136. Either all three writers were closely following the *Kaisergeschichte* at this juncture or the

- H.A. and the epitomator took their account from Eutropius.
- 35 Cf. H.A. *Pius*, 10.4; *Marc. Aur.* 2.1-3.5; *Verus*, 2.5; Victor, *De Caes.* 16.1; Victor, *Epit.* 16.7; Dio, *Epit.* LXXI. 1; LXXII. 35. Apollonius of Chalcedon, a Stoic philosopher, taught both M. Aurelius and L. Verus and was mentioned with gratitude by M. Aurelius in his *Meditations* (i.8). The name Sextus has been omitted from the text here, probably by a scribe: cf. H.A. *Marc. Aur.*, 3.2; M. Aurelius, *Medit.* (i.9). M. Cornelius Fronto was a famous Latin orator and man of letters who corresponded with Pius, M. Aurelius and L. Verus. He was suffect consul in A.D. 143 (H.A. *Marc. Aur.* 2.4).
 - 36 The H.A. (*Marc. Aur.* 21.6) notes that M. Aurelius had to train slaves for his northern wars as was done in the Second Punic War.
 - 37 A virulent plague (A.D. 164-180) often called Galen's plague because Galen left a description of it, was brought back from the East by Verus' army (H.A. *Verus*, 8.1-2). It ravaged Europe as far as the Rhine, devastated the eastern legions, then Rome and other cities (H.A. *Marc. Aur.* 13.4; 28.4; Victor, *Epit.* 16.3). Under Commodus it broke out again with even greater loss of life (Dio, *Epit.* LXXIII. 14.3; Herod. I. 12.1-2). In general *vid.* J.F. Gilliam, "The Plague under Marcus Aurelius," *A.J.P.* LXXXII, 1961, 225-251.
 - 38 In c. A.D. 166 Germans and Sarmatians crossed the upper and lower Danube, invaded northern Italy and began a bitter war which lasted throughout the rest of M. Aurelius' reign. The wars were fought in two main campaigns, against the Marcomanni and Quadi from Carnuntum (Altenburg), east of Vienna, and against the Sarmatian Iazyges from Sirmium (Mitrovica) in Pannonia Inferior. Cf. Dio, *Epit.* LXXI. 3; LXXII. 3-21; H.A. *Marc. Aur.* 12.13; 14.1-6; 17.1-3; 21.6-22.2; 27.10; Victor, *De Caes.* 16.13. For details *vid.* A. Birley, *Marcus Aurelius*, London, 1966, 323 ff.
 - 39 For this sale cf. Zon. 12.1; Dio, *Exc. Salm.* n. 117; H.A. *Marc. Aur.* 17.4-5; Victor, *Epit.* 16.9-10. Both the H.A. and Victor's epitomator seem to have followed Eutropius at this point (H. Dessau, *Hermes* XXIV, 1889, 367 ff.).
 - 40 Cf. H.A. *Marc. Aur.* 17.6-18.2; Victor, *De Caes.* 16.14; Victor, *Epit.* 16.12. Again the H.A. appears to follow Eutropius almost verbatim. M. Aurelius died on March 17th, A.D. 180. According to Dio (*Epit.* LXXII. 34.5) he lived fifty-eight years, ten months and twenty-two days and reigned nineteen years and eleven days. Tertullian (*Apologet.* 25) states that the emperor died at Sirmium; Victor and

his epitomator maintain that he died at Vindobona (Vienna), which is generally accepted since this derives, *via* the *Kaisergeschichte*, from Marius Maximus, an informed contemporary.

- 41 Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus was born at Lanuvium on August 31st, A.D. 161. Appointed Caesar in A.D. 166 he became consul and Augustus (with the *tribunicia potestas*) in A.D. 177 when he accompanied his father to the German-Sarmatian war. At his father's death he became sole emperor and took the name M. Aurelius Commodus Antoninus. He immediately made peace with the Germans and Sarmatians on favourable terms and returned to Rome (Dio, *Epit.* LXXIII. 1.2 ff.; H.A. *Comm.* 1.1-3.5; Herod. I. 6.1; Victor, *De Caes.* 17.2; Victor, *Epit.* 17.2).
- 42 In his last year, A.D. 192, all the months of the year were renamed with Commodus' own names and titles: Amazonius, Invictus, Felix, Pius, Lucius, Aelius, Aurelius, Commodus, Augustus, Herculeius, Romanus, Exsuperatorius (Dio, *Epit.* LXXIII. 15.3; cf. H.A. *Comm.* 11.8-12.10). Eutropius and Victor (*De Caes.* 17.2), presumably copying an error from the *Kaisergeschichte*, state that Commodus gave his name to September, whereas both Dio and the H.A. confirm that he gave his name to August.
- 43 Commodus' depravity and gladiatorial "feats" are emphasized by all the sources. Cf. Dio, *Epit.* LXXIII. 10.2-3; 14.1-3; 17.1 ff.; Herod. I. 8.7 ff.; Victor, *De Caes.* 17.1 ff.; Victor, *Epit.* 17.3-4.
- 44 An attempt was made to poison Commodus on the night of December 31st, A.D. 192 by Q. Aemilius Laetus, the praetorian prefect, Marcia, his mistress, and Eclectus, his chamberlain. It failed and in the early hours of the next morning he was strangled by a young athlete named Narcissus, with whom he regularly exercised (Dio, *Epit.* LXXIII. 22.4-6; Herod. I. 17.1-11; H.A. *Comm.* 17.1-2; Victor, *De Caes.* 17.7-9; Victor, *Epit.* 17.5-6). Victor says that he was called "an enemy of gods and men." According to Dio (*loc. cit.*) he ruled twelve years, nine months and fourteen days, and lived thirty-one years, four months. Victor (*loc. cit.*) notes that he was killed in about the thirteenth year of his reign, the epitomator (*loc. cit.*) that he died in his thirty-second year.
- 45 Publius Helvius Pertinax was born in A.D. 126 and enjoyed a long, illustrious career. He was consul for the second time (with Commodus) in A.D. 192 and urban prefect when acclaimed by the senate as emperor on January 1st, A.D. 193. On March 28th of that

year he was assassinated by the praetorians at the instigation of Laetus, their prefect. Julianus' complicity is not noted by either contemporary source (Dio and Herodian) and may be disregarded. Dio (*Epit.* LXXIII. 10.3) writes that he reigned eighty-seven days and lived sixty-seven years, seven months and twenty-eight days. Cf. Dio, *Epit.* LXXIII 1.1; 3.4; Herod. II. 1.4; 3.2; 4.4 ff.; Victor, *De Caes.* 18.1-2; H.A. *Pert.* 1.4; 12.1 ff.; 13.4; 15.6; Victor, *Epit.* 18.3 ff.

- 46 M. Didius (not Salvius) Julianus was probably the nephew of L. Octavius Cornelius P. Salvius Julianus, the jurist and ordinary consul of A.D. 148 (R. Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta*, Oxford, 1968, 92-93). On the day that Pertinax was assassinated the praetorians auctioned off the empire and Julianus was the highest bidder. He was murdered in the palace on June 1st, A.D. 193 after ruling sixty-six days (Dio, *Epit.* LXXIV. 11.2 ff.; 17.1-5; Herod. II. 6.6 ff.; 12.1-12; cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 19.1-3; H.A. *D.J.* 1.1 ff.; 8.6-9.3; Victor, *Epit.* 19.1-3). The fictitious battle at the Milvian Bridge (clearly a reflection of the celebrated battle of A.D. 312) and the confusion over Julianus' name are two shared errors by Eutropius and Victor (cf. Oros. 7.16.6; Jerome, *Chron.* p. 210 d Helm) which clearly demonstrate a dependence on the *Kaisergeschichte*. Salvius Julianus codified the *edictum tralatitium* of the praetors between A.D. 129 and 138 and it subsequently became known as the *edictum perpetuum* (O. Lenel, *Das Edictum Perpetuum*, 3rd edit., Leipzig, 1929).
- 47 L. Septimius Severus was governor of Pannonia when he was acclaimed emperor by his troops at Carnuntum on April 13th, A.D. 193.
- 48 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 20.19; Victor, *Epit.* 20.9; H.A. *Sev.* 1.2; Herod. II. 9.2.
- 49 Eutropius is correct (T.D. Barnes, *Historia* 16 [1967], 87).
- 50 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 20.30; H.A. *Carac.* 8; *Get.* 2.4. It is most unlikely that he held this position. (Barnes, *op. cit.*, 91).
- 51 He omitted this office too, according to the H.A. (*Sev.* 2.3). Barnes (*loc. cit.*) and A. Birley (*Septimius Severus: The African Emperor* [New York, 1972] 68; 302) concur. I am inclined to believe that these errors derive from the *Kaisergeschichte*.
- 52 Cf. Herod. II. 10.1; H.A. *Sev.* 5.4; 7.8-9; Dio, *Epit.* LXXV 1.1; 4.1 ff.; Victor, *De Caes.* 20.1. Severus assumed the name for

propaganda purposes at or soon after his acclamation, then discarded it when it had ceased to be useful.

- 53 C. Pescennius Niger was hardly a rebel. He had been governor of Syria since A.D. 191 and was acclaimed emperor by his troops in Syria in April A.D. 193. Initially supported by L. Mantennius Sabinus, governor of Egypt, he was abandoned by him the following year. Byzantium went over to him and he remained popular at Rome. He was defeated at Perinthus, Cyzicus and Nicaea and finally routed at Issus, probably in late April or May A.D. 194. While fleeing to the Parthians he was captured and killed near Antioch soon afterwards. For sources and discussion *vid.* Birley, *op. cit.*, 172-188. Eutropius' error that he was killed at Cyzicus, shared by Victor (*De Caes.* 20.8), the H.A. (*Sev.* 9.1; *Pesc. Nig.* 5.8) and Orosius (7.17) may be attributed to the *Kaisergeschichte*; cf. Dio, *Epit.* LXXV. 8.3; Herod. III. 2.2 ff.; H.W. Bird, *Classical Bulletin* 65 (1989), 98.
- 54 In A.D. 197 Severus attacked Parthia for its support of Niger and captured its capital Ctesiphon at the end of January A.D. 198. He failed to capture Hatra and hostilities probably continued into the following year, but he did carve a province out of the territory of the Skenite Arabs with Nisibis as its capital and defeated the Adiabeni whose territory lay east of the Tigris, thus earning the titles given by Eutropius. Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 20.14-16; H.A. *Sev.* 9.9; 18.1; Festus, 21; Jerome, *Abr.* 2214; Dio, *Epit.* LXXVI. 1.2-2.4; 9.1-12.5; Herod. III. 9.1-12; Zos. I. 8.5. For the campaigns *vid.* Birley, *op. cit.* 201-205.
- 55 Decimus Clodius Albinus was governor of Britain in A.D. 193 and also a candidate for the throne. Shrewdly placated by Severus with the title of Caesar until Niger's death and granted the consulship with Severus in A.D. 194, attempts were made to assassinate him in A.D. 195 and he was declared a public enemy. Albinus seized western and central Gaul with his base at Lyons (Lugdunum). After an initial defeat at Tinurtium, sixty miles north of Lyons, he was driven back to his base near which the decisive battle took place on February 19th, A.D. 197. Albinus' troops fought well but were eventually defeated, Albinus was killed and Lyons was sacked. Cf. Victor *De Caes.* 20.9-10; H.A. *Sev.* 6.9; 10.1; 12.6; *Clod. Alb.* 7.1; 8.1-12.2; Dio, *Epit.* LXXIV. 15.2; LXXVI. 4.1; 6.8; Herod. II. 15.1-5; III.5.2-8; 7.1-7. For the war *vid.* Birley, *op. cit.*, 189-195.
- 56 This probably comes from the *Kaisergeschichte*; cf. Victor, *De Caes.*

- 20.22. For other assessments *vid.* Dio, *Epit.* LXXVII, 16.1; 17.2; H.A. *Sev.* 1.4; 18.4-5; Victor, *Epit.* 20.8.
- 57 Cf. Victor *De Caes.* 20.18; H.A. *Sev.* 18.2; Victor, *Epit.* 20.4; Oros. 7.17.7. The figure 132 found in Eutropius and Orosius is incorrect and probably due to a scribal error in Eutropius which Orosius copied. The figure should be 32, as Victor's epitomator states. Severus was responsible for restoring Hadrian's Wall which had been breached by the Caledonians when Albinus weakened its garrison to bolster his army in Gaul. It was 76 Roman miles long, and the western section of 31 miles was a rampart of turf. It is possible that the *Kaisergeschichte*, followed by Eutropius and Victor, was alluding to this section and had accepted Severan propaganda that the purpose of the campaigns (A.D. 208-210) was to punish the invaders and restore the existing fortifications (Birley, *op. cit.* 244-268).
- 58 Severus died on February 4th A.D. 211 (Dio, *Epit.* LXXVII. 15.2) at the age of sixty-five (Dio, *Epit.* LXXVII. 17.4) after ruling seventeen years, eight months, three days. Cf. Herod. III. 15.3; Victor, *De Caes.* 20.27; Victor, *Epit.* 20.1; 20.10; H.A. *Sev.* 19.1. York (Eboracum) was established as a legionary fortress in the Flavian period and by the time of Severus had become the second city of Britain. When Severus divided Britain into two provinces York became the capital of Lower Britain, provided winter quarters for the *Legio VI Victrix*, and was regularly the site of the Romans' General Headquarters.
- 59 Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (Caracalla) assumed the name Antoninus and the title Caesar for propaganda purposes at Viminacium (Kostolac) in Moesia Superior on April 6th, A.D. 196 (H.A. *Sev.* 10.3; *Carac.* 1.1; Herod. III. 10.5; Victor, *De Caes.* 20.30). He was born at Lyons on April 4th, A.D. 186 and was then named Julius Bassianus after his maternal grandfather (H.A. *Sev.* 3.9). Lucius Septimius Geta was born at Milan on March 7th, A.D. 189 (Dio, *Epit.* LXXVIII. 2.5; cf. H.A. *Get.* 3.1; *Sev.* 4.2). He was appointed Caesar in A.D. 198 and Augustus in A.D. 209. The deep hostility between the brothers increased after Severus' death and Geta was assassinated by Caracalla probably in December A.D. 212, allegedly for plotting against him (Dio, *Epit.* LXXVIII. 2.1 ff.; H.A. *Sev.* 21.6; *Carac.* 2.4; *Get.* 6.1; Victor, *De Caes.* 20.32 ff.; Victor, *Epit.* 21.3). Geta subsequently suffered an *abolitio memoriae*, i.e. his name was erased from all monuments and records.

- 60 Caracalla (better Caracallus) was the name of a modified Gallic cloak which the emperor made fashionable at Rome (Dio, *Epit.* LXXIX. 3.3; Herod. IV. 7.3; H.A. *Sev.* 21.11; *Carac.* 9.7; Victor, *De Caes.* 21.1; Victor, *Epit.* 21.2).
- 61 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 21.4; H.A. *Carac.* 9.4; 9.9; *Heliog.* 17.8. The *Thermae Antoninianae* or Baths of Caracalla were begun in A.D. 211 or 212 and dedicated in 216. Elagabalus and Alexander Severus completed them. They were the most magnificent baths at Rome and even today their ruins are remarkable for their size and splendour (D.R. Dudley, *Urbs Roma*, London, 1967, 203-205; plate 72).
- 62 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 21.2-3; Victor, *Epit.* 21.5; H.A. *Carac.* 10.1-4. The popular and scurrilous story about Caracalla's relationship with his mother, Julia, in which she was called Jocasta, appeared in Herodian (IV. 9.3), but the false report that she was actually his stepmother stems from a hostile tradition accepted by neither Herodian nor Dio (*Epit.* LXXIX. 24.1). For this *vid.* J. Babelon, *Impératrices syriennes*, Paris, 1957, 65. It was probably included as a rumour by Marius Maximus and retailed as a fact by the *Kaisergeschichte*.
- 63 In A.D. 216 Caracalla marched through Adiabene into Media, destroyed several fortresses, then withdrew to Edessa for the winter. On April 8th of the following year, as he was approaching Carrhae to worship at the temple of the Moon he was assassinated by Martialis, a praetorian, at the instigation of the praetorian prefect, M. Opellius Macrinus (Dio, *Epit.* LXXIX 1.1 ff. 6.5; Herod. IV. 11.8 ff.; Victor, *De Caes.* 21.5; Victor, *Epit.* 21.6; H.A. *Carac.* 7.1; Oros. 7.18.2; Zos I. 10). Dio says Caracalla lived twenty-nine years and four days and ruled six years, two months and two days. Eutropius' error regarding Caracalla's age cannot be satisfactorily explained. Even Victor's epitomator, who was apparently following the *Kaisergeschichte* here, writes that Caracalla was almost thirty.
- 64 M. Opellius Macrinus came from Caesarea in Mauretania and was of humble ancestry. Promoted to the praetorian prefecture in c. A.D. 214, he was acclaimed emperor on April 8th, A.D. 217 and became the first emperor of equestrian origin. After concluding a somewhat unfavourable peace with the Parthians he became unpopular with the legions for cutting back on their pay and keeping the European troops in Syria. At Emesa the following year Julia Maesa persuaded the Legio II Gallica that her grandson Bassianus was Caracalla's natural

son and the soldiers saluted him as emperor. Macrinus was defeated near Antioch on June 8th, captured at Chalcedon about nine days later while fleeing, and executed on about June 22nd as he was being returned to Antioch. According to Dio he ruled one year and two months less three days. Only Eutropius, Victor and the H.A. call him Opilius and (with Orosius) his son Diadumenus instead of Diadumenianus, so that it is reasonable to conclude that these errors originated with the *Kaisergeschichte*. Cf. Dio. *Epi.* LXXIX. 11-41; Herod. IV. 14-V. 4; Zos. I. 10 ff.; Victor, *De Caes.* 22.1-4; Victor, *Epi.* 22; H.A. *Carac.* 8.10; *Macr.* 2.1-15.2; *Diad.* 1.1-11.6.

- 65 M. Aurelius Antoninus came to the throne at the age of fourteen. He was originally called Varus Avitus Bassianus and was the son of Sextus Varius Marcellus and Julia Soaemias, who was the niece of Septimius Severus' wife Julia Domna. As the hereditary priest of Elah-Gabal, patron sun-god of Emesa, he may have adopted the name Elagabalus as a *cognomen* when he imported the god into Rome in the summer of A.D. 219. There are several historiographical problems here. Victor, his epitomator, and the H.A. call both emperor and god Heliogabalus. Eutropius and the H.A. correctly state that Elagabalus was the reputed son of Caracalla, whereas Victor and his epitomator erroneously affirm that he was the actual son of Caracalla. Furthermore, only Eutropius and the H.A. call his mother Symiasera or Symiamera, which may be connected with the Syrian goddess Simea. Finally, Eutropius and Victor's epitomator inform us that Elagabalus ruled two years, eight months; Victor gives thirty months. Dio, who is confirmed by inscriptions, writes that he ruled three years, nine months, four days. These errors should probably be attributed to the *Kaisergeschichte* (or a misreading of the *Kaisergeschichte*). In the last example its author may have written *biennio* (two years) for *triennio* (three years). After a reign of depravity and license (both Eutropius and Victor use the term *obscenissimus*), which shocked even the Romans and especially the military, Elagabalus and his mother were assassinated by the praetorians on March 13th, A.D. 222. Cf. Dio, *Epi.* LXXIX. 2-LXXX. 21; Herod. V. 3.2 ff.; Victor, *De Caes.* 23.1-3; Victor, *Epi.* 23.1-7; H.A. *Elag.* 1.4-33.8. In general *vid.* O.F. Butler, *Studies in the Life of Heliogabalus*, University of Michigan Studies IV, Ann Arbor, 1960; J. Stuart Hay, *The Amazing Emperor Heliogabalus*, London, 1911.

- 66 M. Aurelius Severus Alexander was the son of Gessius Marcianus and Julia Mamaea (daughter of Julia Maesa). His original name was Alexianus. He was born at Arca Caesarea in Syria on October 1st, A.D. 208 or 209, i.e. he was twelve or thirteen when he became emperor, a fact equally stressed by Victor. Neither mentions the youth of Elagabalus at his accession. Adopted by Elagabalus in A.D. 221 he was acclaimed Augustus by the praetorians on March 13th, 222 and probably recognized by the Senate the following day. In A.D. 231 he moved east to repel an invasion of Mesopotamia by the Persians who had recently overwhelmed the Parthians and seized their empire. Their king was Artaxerxes (Ardashir). Eutropius, Victor, Festus and Jerome, all relying ultimately on the *Kaisergeschichte*, mistakenly cite him as Xerxes and, together with H.A. *Alex.* 55.1, show a remarkable similarity of expression and exaggeration of Alexander's success, though he did recover Mesopotamia in 232. Herodian gives a more sober assessment. The story in the Latin sources of Alexander being a severe military disciplinarian is a myth, attributable to a play on his name: again Herodian provides the corrective. The celebrated and prolific jurist Domitius Ulpianus was prefect of the grain supply on March 31, A.D. 222 (*Cod. Just.* VIII. 37.4), but by December 31st he had become praetorian prefect (*Cod. Just.* IV. 65.4; Dio, *Epit.* LXXX. 1.1; Zos. I. 11.3). He was killed by the praetorians the following year. Possibly Alexander, while Caesar, appointed Ulpian *a libellis* (secretary for petitions) before he became Augustus (Syme, *Emperors and Biography*, 147-151). At any event Eutropius' term *magister scrinii* is an anachronism, again derived from the *Kaisergeschichte*, for it originated with the reforms of Constantine. Cf. Dio, *Epit.* LXXIX. 30.3 ff.; LXXX. 19.1 ff.; Herod. V. 3.3 ff.; VI. 4.7; Victor, *De Caes.* 24.1-7; Victor, *Epit.* 24.1-5; H.A. *Alex.* 1.2; 3.1; 5.2; 55.1-2.
- 67 Alexander and his mother were killed by his mutinous soldiers, who resented the influences of Mamaea and Alexander's attempts to buy off the Alamanni, at Bretzenheim (Vicus Britannicus) near Mainz in Upper Germany on March 21st or 22nd, A.D. 235. (Herod. VI. 9.1-8; Victor, *De Caes.* 24.2-4; Victor, *Epit.* 24.4-5; H.A. *Alex.* 60.1; Oros. 7.18.8; *C.J.L.* XIII. 6592; 6677a).
- 68 Cf. Herod. VI. 1. 10; 9.5; Victor, *De Caes.* 24.5; H.A. *Alex.* 26.9.

Book Nine

- 1 C. Julius Verus Maximinus was born possibly in A.D. 172 or 173 (Zon. XII. 16; *Chron. Pasc.* 501; but cf. Syme, *Emperors and Biography*, 181-182) supposedly in a remote Thracian village (Herod. VI. 8.1; Victor, *Epit.* 25.1; *H.A. Max. Duo*, 2.5) which may have been located near Oescus in Moesia Inferior. He was acclaimed Augustus by the mutinous troops at Mainz on March 21st or 22nd, A.D. 235, thus becoming Rome's first emperor from the ranks (Victor, *De Caes.* 25.1; *H.A. Max. Duo*, 2.1 ff.). For his career *vid.* Syme, *op. cit.*, 179-193.
- 2 Maximinus first dealt with a conspiracy among his officers and centurions (Herod. VII. 1.4 ff.; *H.A. Max. Duo*, 10.1 ff.) before winning victories over the Germans across the Rhine at Württemberg and other Germans and Sarmatians in the Danube region (Herod, VII. 2.1 ff.; Victor, *De Caes.* 26.2; *H.A. Max. Duo*, 12.1-13.2; *C.R.E.B.M.* VI. 224; *I.L.S.* 488-490; 2308, 2309; *C.I.L.* III. 3336). Nevertheless a rebellion in Africa in late March A.D. 238 elevated the two Gordians who were supported at Rome by the senate which declared Maximinus a public enemy at the beginning of April. Their deaths that month caused the senate to declare two of its own members, M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus and D. Caelius Balbinus, as joint emperors. Maximinus marched from Sirmium into Italy but was held up by the lengthy siege of Aquileia. His supply lines were cut and his starving army killed him and his son on or about June 24th, A.D. 238, after an official reign of three years and about twelve days (Herod. VII. 10.1 ff.; Victor, *De Caes.* 26.1-27.4; Victor, *Epit.* 25.1-26.1; *H.A. Max. Duo*, 13.5 ff.; *Max-Balb.* 11.1 ff.). Pupienus Maximus was at Ravenna when Maximinus was assassinated (Herod. VIII. 6.5; *H.A. Max. Duo*, 24.5; *Max. Balb.* 11.1) so that Eutropius and Victor (*De Caes.* 27.4) are mistaken in making him responsible for Maximinus' death. The error was in the *Kaisergeschichte*.
- 3 M. Antonius Gordianus Sempronianus Romanus Africanus was the governor of Africa when proclaimed emperor at Thyssdrus (El Djem) on or about March 22nd, A.D. 238. For his career *vid.* A.R. Birley (*Britain and Rome*, Kendal, 1965, 58-60; T.D. Barnes, *Latomus* 27 (1968), 581-597. It was a rising of wealthy young landowners and tenant farmers which placed him on the throne (Herod. VII. 4.3 ff.; *H.A. Gord.* 7.3-4 ff.), not the army, as Eutropius and Victor (*De*

Caes. 26.1), echoed at one point by the H.A. (*Max. Duo*, 13.6), maintain. There were three Gordians, not two as Eutropius and Victor, following the *Kaisergeschichte*, believed (Victor, *De Caes.* 27.1 ff.; cf. Herod. VII. 10.7; VIII. 8.7; H.A. *Gord.* 2.1). The H.A. appears to be criticizing the *Kaisergeschichte*, Victor and perhaps Eutropius, too, at this juncture. The elder two, father and son, died while opposing Capellianus, governor of Numidia, on about the 12th of April, A.D. 238 (*Chronog. A.D.* 354, 147M; Zon. XII. 17). Pupienus and Balbinus were both patricians according to Herodian (VIII. 8.1; 8.4; 8.8); cf. H.A. *Max. Balb.* 5.1; 7.1; 14.1; 16.2; *Max. Duo*, 20.1. In general *vid. Syme, Emperors and Biography*, 163-178.

- 4 Pupienus and Balbinus were killed outside the palace (Herod. VIII. 8.6; H.A. *Max. Balb.* 14.5) probably on July 29th, when M. Antonius Gordianus III was acclaimed Augustus by the praetorians. He was born at Rome on January 20th, A.D. 225 and was, therefore, only thirteen years old.
- 5 In A.D. 241 Gordian married Furia Sabinia Tranquillina (*I.L.S.* 502-504), daughter of C. Furius Sabinus Aquila Timesitheus, whom he appointed praetorian prefect (*C.I.L. XIII.* 1807; H.A. *Gord.* 23.6; Zos. I. 17). The Persians (not Parthians) had captured Carrhae and Nisibis probably soon after Maximinus' accession, then proceeded to overrun Mesopotamia and invest Hatra. In A.D. 241 Sapor (Shapur), son of the ailing Ardashir, seized and razed Hatra. The following year, after Ardashir's death Sapor conquered Osroëne and threatened Syria (A.T. Olmstead, *C. Ph.* 37, 1962, 250-253). That year Gordian opened the gates of the Temple of Janus and marched out against the Persians (Victor, *De Caes.* 27.7; H.A. *Gord.* 23.5; 26.3; Festus, 22; Oros. 7.19; Zos. I. 18.1).
- 6 In A.D. 243 Timesitheus recovered Carrhae, Resaina and Nisibis, retook Mesopotamia and marched on Ctesiphon before dying of a disease that autumn. His place as praetorian prefect was taken by M. Julius Philippus, an Arab, who, after creating an artificial shortage of supplies, for which he blamed Gordian, had the emperor killed near Zaitha in February or March, A.D. 244 (Victor, *De Caes.* 27.8; Victor, *Epiu.* 24.1-2; H.A. *Gord.* 29.1 ff.; Zos. I. 18.4 ff.; Ammianus, 23.5.17; P.W. Townsend, *Y. Cl. S.* 4, 1934, 130 ff.; S.I. Oost, *C. Ph.* 53, 1958, 106-107; K.T. Erim and J. Reynolds, *J.R.S.* 59, 1969, 56 ff.). Circesium, with its walls encircled by the Khabur and Euphrates, was fortified by Diocletian. Eutropius and Ammianus

- stayed there with Julian in April, A.D. 363 and visited Gordian's tomb nearby (Ammianus, 23.5.1; 23.5.17; J. Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, 170). Gordian's deification is mentioned only by Eutropius, the H.A. and Ammianus. The Persians claimed he died in battle (Matthews, *op. cit.*, 132).
- 7 Philip was born in Trachonitis, S.W. of Syria, in a village upon which he built a city, Philippopolis, which is now called Shahba, endowing it with huge baths, a palace and a theatre. He made his son, M. Julius Severus Philippus, who was born in A.D. 235 or 236, Augustus in A.D. 246 or 247 (Victor, *De Caes.* 28.1; Victor, *Epit.* 28.3; Olmstead, *op. cit.*, 259-260). Soon after his accession Philip made peace with Sapor (Zos. I. 19.2; Zon. 12.19; Sync. 683) and paid a substantial ransom for prisoners of war still in Persian hands, but retained control of Mesopotamia and Armenia (J. Guey, *Syria* 38, 1961, 261-274; T. Pekary, *Syria* 38, 1961, 275-283; M. York, *Historia* 21, 1972, 320 ff.). He reached Rome by July 23rd, A.D. 244 (*I.L.S.* 505).
 - 8 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 28.2; Victor, *Epit.* 28.3; H.A. *Gord.* 33.1-2; Oros. 7.20. The Secular Games celebrating Rome's one thousandth anniversary were held in A.D. 248, probably in April. They lasted three days and three nights and included theatrical performances, gladiatorial combats and a display of rare animals. Apparently Philip chose to follow Claudius' precedent of a hundred year *saeculum* rather than that of Augustus, which was of a hundred and ten years.
 - 9 Sometime after April, A.D. 248 the Danubian troops proclaimed T. Claudius Marinus Pacatianus emperor. The situation was exacerbated by invasions of Goths and others. Philip sent Decius, an experienced Pannonian general, as *Dux Moesiae et Pannoniae* to secure the Danubian provinces. His success led to his acclamation, probably in mid-June, A.D. 249. A battle was fought near Verona probably in September in which Philip was killed (Victor, *De Caes.* 28.10; Victor, *Epit.* 28.2; *Chronog.* A.D. 354; cf. Zos. I. 22.4; Zon. 12.19; Jord. *Get.* 91-92; *F.H.G.* III, 675). Zosimus and Zonaras state that the younger Philip was killed with his father, the Latin sources that he was killed at Rome.
 - 10 Eutropius, Victor and his epitomator maintain that he ruled five years. The Chronographer of A.D. 354 gives five years, five months and twenty-nine days. No inscriptions addressing them as *divi* have been found so it is unlikely that they were deified.

- 11 C. Messius Quintus Decius Valerianus Traianus was born at Budalia near Sirmium in about A.D. 190 (Victor, *De Caes.* 29.1; Victor, *Epit.* 29.1). For his career and reign *vid.* F.S. Salisbury and H. Mattingly, *J.R.S.* 14, 1924, 3 ff.; Syme, *Emperors and Biography*, 194 ff. He was the first of the Danubian/Illyrian emperors. Fighting occurred near Mainz, Ladenburg and Heidelberg (i.e. the Gallic frontier) in late A.D. 250 but we have no other indications of a usurpation there in Decius' reign. Decius made his elder son, Q. Herennius Etruscus Messius Decius, Caesar in that year (*C.I.L.* XIII. 9102; 9110) and Augustus the following year. In A.D. 250 also the Carpi invaded Dacia and either then or early in 251 the Goths attacked Moesia, unsuccessfully besieging Nicopolis but destroying Philippopolis. Decius and the military commander of the Moesias, Gallus, lay in wait for them at Abrittus, near Adamklissi in the Dobrudja but after an initial success Decius and his son were defeated and killed on about the 1st of July, after ruling approximately two years. (Victor, *De Caes.* 29.4; Victor, *Epit.* 29.2-3; Euseb. *H.E.* 7.1.1). Decius built the Decian Baths, restored the Colosseum and probably started construction on the Decian Portico (S.B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Oxford, 1929, 6; 421; 526-527).
- 12 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 30.1; Victor, *Epit.* 30.1-2. Eutropius is guilty of carelessly reading his source here, as the accounts of Victor and his epitomator make clear. C. Vibius Trebonianus Gallus, born in c. A.D. 206 of a senatorial family from Perusia, was acclaimed by the surviving Roman troops on the Lower Danube in early July, A.D. 251. After making peace with the Goths he hurried to Rome where he found Decius' younger son (who may have already been made Augustus), C. Valens Hostilianus Messius Quintus. Apparently he adopted Hostilianus (Zos. I. 25.2) and promoted his own son, C. Vibius Afinius Veldumnianus Volusianus, to the rank of Caesar, and subsequently Augustus. Eutropius, Victor and his epitomator were unaware that Hostilianus was Decius' son so presumably the fact was not registered by the *Kaisergeschichte*. Hostilianus died between August and November, A.D. 251, apparently from the plague (Victor, *De Caes.* 30.2; Victor, *Epit.* 30.2).
- 13 M. Aemilius Aemilianus came from Girba on the island of Meninx, which lies off the coast of N. Africa. He succeeded Gallus in A.D. 251 as governor of the two Moesias, gained some success against the

Goths and engineered his acclamation in the summer of 253, possibly by promising his troops the tribute intended for the Goths. His march on Italy caught Gallus and Volusianus by surprise for he reached Interamna (Terni) just north of Rome before they met him. Their own soldiers killed them, in the hope of rewards from Aemilianus or through fear of Aemilianus' superior forces. The plague, which devastated towns and villages, spread from Ethiopia and lasted for over fifteen years, causing the minting of coins at Rome with the legend "Apoll[ini] Salutari" (Victor, *De Caes.* 30.1-31.3; Victor, *Epit.* 30.1-31.2; Zos. I. 25.2; 26.3; 28.6; 36.1; Zon. 12.11; 21-11; H.A. *Gall* 5.2 ff.; Oros. 7.21; Euseb. *H.E.* 7.22.1). According to the Chronographer of A.D. 354 (148 M.) they ruled two years, four months nine days; cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 31.3; Jord. *Get.* 106; *Rom.* 258.

- 14 Aemilianus was also murdered by his troops, three months later, either at Spoletium in Umbria or at "Pontem Sanguinarium" between Narnia and Otriculum, presumably because he had lost their favour (Zos. I. 29.1; Zon. 12.23; Victor, *Epit.* 31.2; cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 31.3).
- 15 P. Licinius Valerianus was consul before A.D. 238 (Zos. I. 14.1), possibly fought against the Goths in A.D. 251 (H.A. *Val.* 5.4) and was a military commander in Raetia in A.D. 253. Gallus ordered him to march against Aemilianus but before he could bring assistance he was informed of the deaths of Gallus and Volusianus. His troops then proclaimed him emperor (Victor, *De Caes.* 32.1-2; *Chron. CCLVIII Olymp.*, 220; Oros. 7.22; Jord. *Rom.* 287; E. Manni, *R.F.C.* 75, 1947, 106-117). Between A.D. 253 and 258 the Alamanni penetrated Italy as far as Ravenna before being defeated at Milan by Gallienus, and the Persians captured Dura, Syrian Seleucia and even Antioch. Valerian was in the east in A.D. 254 or 256, but accomplished little and was finally captured by Sapor at Edessa in A.D. 259 or 260, ending his days in captivity (Victor, *De Caes.* 32.5; Victor, *Epit.* 32.5; Oros. 7.22; Lact. *De Mort. Persec.* 5.2 ff.; Zos. I. 36.2; cf. Zon. 12.23). In general *vid.* R. Rémondon, *La crise de l'Empire Romaine*, Paris, 1964, esp. 276-277; B.H. Warmington in H.M.D. Parker, *A History of the Roman World A.D. 138 to 337*, 2nd edit., London, 1958, 389-391; T. Pekary, *Historia* 11, 1962, 123 ff.
- 16 P. Licinius Egnatius Gallienus was born possibly in A.D. 218 and made Augustus, not Caesar, soon after August 29th, A.D. 253 (*I.L.S.*

531; *C.I.L.* VIII. 2482; Victor, *Epit.* 32.2; H.A. *Val.* 2.2; cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 32.3). The earlier statement of Eutropius and that of Victor that Gallienus was made Caesar is incorrect and presumably stems from the *Kaisergeschichte*.

- 17 Gallienus fought five campaigns on the Rhine between A.D. 254 and 258, achieving success both militarily and diplomatically since by A.D. 258 coins proclaimed him GERMANICUS MAX V and RESTITUTOR GALLIARUM (G. Elmer, *B.J.* 146, 1941, 19). Even the intensely hostile Victor is forced to admit this (*De Caes.* 33.1).
- 18 The dating of Ingenuus' revolt and the Battle of Mursa (Eszek) are controversial. P. Dufraigne (*Aurelius Victor: Livre des Césars*, Paris, 1975, 157) summarizes the modern views. Possibly in the summer of A.D. 258 Gallienus defeated the Alamanni at Milan (Zon. 12.24; Zos. I. 37.1). Soon afterwards he learned that Ingenuus, his commander in Pannonia and Moesia, had rebelled. He then marched into Illyricum (a general term including the Pannonias) and probably in A.D. 260 he defeated Ingenuus at Mursa in Pannonia Inferior. The surviving troops of Ingenuus, however, acclaimed Regalianus emperor, not Trebellianus (cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 33.2; Victor, *Epit.* 32.3; H.A. *Tyr. trig.* 10.1-2) and he held out at Carnuntum for several months before being killed by the Roxolani and his own troops, not by Gallienus. On this error of name by Eutropius *vid.* den Boer, *op. cit.*, 171-172.
- 19 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 33.6; 15; Victor, *Epit.* 33.1; H.A. *Gall.* 21.6; *Tyr. trig.* 8.9; 9.1. This scurrilous account was in the *Kaisergeschichte* and is probably the total fabrication of a hostile senatorial source. Cf. A. Alföldi, *C.A.H.* XII, 181-190; 223-230.
- 20 Eutropius' severe compression of material (or that of his source) has caused chronological displacements here. For the Alamanni *vid.* notes 15 and 18. Dacia was attacked by the Goths and Carpi from at least A.D. 253 onwards and Transylvania was abandoned by Gallienus, but legions were established in Wallachia. The province was not give up until Aurelian's reign, probably in A.D. 271, despite the statements of Eutropius, Victor (*De Caes.* 33.3), Festus (8) and Orosius (7.22), all depending ultimately upon the *Kaisergeschichte*, which made Gallienus responsible for all the evils of his times.
- 21 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 33.3. The Goths. Borani and Heruli repeatedly invaded Greece, Macedonia, Pontus and Asia between A.D. 254 and 268 (Warmington, *loc. cit.*). They attacked Thessalonica and Athens,

destroyed Nicomedia and Nicaea and plundered Ephesus. To protect Pannonia from the Sarmatians and Quadi Gallienus enlisted the support of the Marcomanni by taking their king's daughter, Pipa, as a concubine and settling numbers of them in Pannonia Superior (Victor, *De Caes.* 33.1; Victor, *Epit.* 33.1; H.A. *Gall.* 21.3. The Franks, a German confederacy of Bructeri, Chamavi, Salii and others, make their first appearance in history at this point (Victor, *De Caes.* 33.3). They probably posed a threat to the Rhine frontier before Gallienus' time but taking advantage of Rome's weakened defences they apparently invaded Gaul in c. A.D. 257, and subsequently crossed the Pyrenees and entered Spain. They devastated Tarraco (Tarragona) so badly that in Orosius' day the damage was still visible (Oros. 7.22; Zos. I. 30.2; Zon. 12.24; F.J. Wiseman, *Roman Spain*, London, 1956, 71-72). One group, the Bavares, even raided Mauretania. (*J.L.S.* 2767, 9006). For the Persians' claim cf. Dio, *Epit.* LXXX. 3.4.

- 22 M. Cassianius Latinus Postumus, military commander on the Rhine in A.D. 258, rebelled possibly in 260 at Cologne and executed Gallienus' son Saloninus and Silvanus, the praetorian prefect. Setting himself up as an independent emperor he gained the allegiance of Spain and Britain, organized a Gallic senate and even dreamed of ruling the whole empire. After a successful reign of ten years he crushed a revolt at Mainz by C. Ulpius Cornelius Laelianus but his refusal to allow his troops to sack the city supposedly cost him his life. Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 33.8; Victor, *Epit.* 32.3; H.A. *Gall.* 4.3; 7.1; *Tyr. trig.* 3.2; 3.4; 3.7; 4.1; 5.1 ff.; 6.1 ff.; Oros. 7.22; Zos. I. 38.3. Laelianus appears as Lollianus in some manuscripts of Eutropius, whence it found its way into the H.A. The mistake was not in the *Kaisergeschichte*, however, since Victor has the correct version. For the dating *vid.* T.D. Barnes, *Phoenix* 26, 1972, 167.
- 23 M. Aurelius Marius was possibly acclaimed emperor after the deaths of Postumus and Laelianus (Victor, *De Caes.* 33.9; Oros. 7.22; cf. H.A. *Tyr. trig.* 8.1; G. Elmer, *B.J.* 146, 1941, 58-60, 69 ff.). Evidence from coins indicates that he ruled far longer than the two or three days accorded him by Eutropius, Victor and the H.A., which again stems from the *Kaisergeschichte*. M. Piavonius Victorinus, whose first coins from Trèves bore the bust of Marius (Elmer, *loc. cit.*), defeated Marius in A.D. 268 and captured Autun the following year. (P. Le Gentilhomme, *R.E.A.* 45, 1943, 232-240). The

- quartermasters' plot at Cologne in A.D. 270 (Victor, *De Caes.* 33.12; H.A. *Tyr. trig.* 6.3; Oros. 7.22) may mark another simple usurpation.
- 24 C. Pius Esuvius Tetricus, governor of Aquitania and resident at Bordeaux, was probably acclaimed by the troops at Cologne in A.D. 270. Like Victorinus and his mother, to whom he owed his elevation, he belonged to the Gallic nobility presumably from the lower Seine district of the Esuvii (Victor, *De Caes.* 33.14; Victor, *Epit.* 35.7; H.A. *Tyr. trig.* 24.1; Oros. 7.22). Eutropius, Victor and the H.A. imply that Tetricus was in power during Gallienus' reign, yet another error derived from the *Kaisergeschichte*.
 - 25 Septimius Odaenathus was a nobleman from Palmyra, an oasis city situated between Syria and Babylonia which controlled the caravan traffic from Syria to the east. After the capture of Valerian Odaenathus took the title of king and with his local troops severely defeated Sapor in A.D. 260. Gallienus made him *dux* and he then suppressed the pretender Quietus at Emesa. Between A.D. 262 and 267 he commanded the Romans' eastern forces and his own Palmyrene troops and reconquered Mesopotamia and marched as far as Ctesiphon. In A.D. 267 he and his eldest son were assassinated (Zon. 12.23-24; Sync. I. 716; cf. H.A. *Val.* 4.2; *Gall.* 3.3; 10.1-8; 12.1; *Tyr. trig.* 15.1 ff.).
 - 26 In A.D. 268 M. Acilius Aureolus, whom Gallienus had left in charge of operations against Postumus while he fought the Goths and Heruli, rebelled and made for Rome. Gallienus besieged him at Milan. Nevertheless a conspiracy of senior Danubian officers, which included Aurelius Herculianus, the praetorian prefect, Marcianus, M. Aurelius Claudius, L. Domitius Aurelianus and Cecropius, prefect in the Dalmatian cavalry, succeeded in assassinating Gallienus soon after August 28th (Victor, *De Caes.* 33.19-20; Victor, *Epit.* 33.2-3; H.A. *Gall.* 14.1 ff.; Oros. 7.22.3; Zos. I. 40; Zon. 12.25; Sync. I. 17). For the date *vid.* Barnes, *op. cit.*, 181. Claudius was then acclaimed emperor by his fellow Danubians probably in September. His part in the plot was subsequently expurgated by the *Kaisergeschichte* (Syme, *Emperors and Biography*, 205).
 - 27 After overcoming the Alamanni near Lake Benacus (Lago di Garda) Claudius decisively defeated the Goths in two battles, at Doberus in Macedonia and Naissus (Nish) in Moesia, before dying of the plague at Sirmium probably in late August, A.D. 270 (Victor, *Epit.* 34.2; Victor *De Caes.* 34.5; Zos. I. 43.1-2; 46.2; Zon. 12.26; H.A. *Claud.*

- 12.2; Chronog. A.D. 354, 448; Barnes, *loc. cit.*; J.R. Rea, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XL, 1972, 15-19; J. Lafaurie, *B.S.F.N.*, 1974, 517 ff.).
- 28 Cf. Victor, *Epit.* 34.4; H.A. *Claud.* 3.3; 12.2. There is a *lacuna* in the text of Victor's *De Caesaribus* at this point.
- 29 Cf. H.A. *Claud.* 12.3-6; *Aur.* 16.1; 37.5-6; Victor, *Epit.* 33.5; Oros. 7.23.1-2; Zos. I. 47; Zon. 12.26. M. Aurelius Quintillus was acclaimed at Aquileia soon after August 28th, A.D. 270. Eutropius and Zonaras state that he ruled seventeen days, the H.A. (*Aur.* 37.6) twenty days, the Chronographer of A.D. 354 gives seventy-seven days, Zosimus a few months. His coins are too numerous for a reign of seventeen days so it is probable that he died towards the end of A.D. 270. According to Zosimus, Zonaras and H.A. *Aur.* 37.6 he committed suicide. In general *vid.* Barnes, *op. cit.*, 168-170.
- 30 L. Domitius Aurelianus was born in c. A.D. 215 in that part of the Moesias which he subsequently formed into Dacia Ripensis (cf. H.A. *Aur.* 3.1-2; Victor, *Epit.* 35.1). He was acclaimed emperor at Sirmium in the autumn of A.D. 270 (Barnes, *op. cit.*, 149, 181). His first act was to drive the Vandals out of Pannonia. He then learned the Juthungi and Alamanni were devastating northern Italy (winter A.D. 270/271). After an initial defeat at Placentia he destroyed their armies at the Metaurus, at Fanum Fortunae and near Ticinus (Victor, *De Caes.* 34.2-6; Victor, *Epit.* 35.2; H.A. *Aur.* 18.3; 21.1; Zos. I. 49.2; Dexippus, *F.H.G.* III. 685-686; *Petr. Patr.* frg. 10.3).
- 31 Cf. Victor, *Epit.* 35.2.
- 32 This is chronologically misplaced by Eutropius. Tetricus had found it difficult to maintain himself even though Aurelian was in the east fighting Zenobia. In A.D. 273 near Châlons his army was easily defeated and Tetricus deserted to Aurelian (Victor, *De Caes.* 35.3-4; H.A. *Aur.* 32.3; *Tyr. trig.* 24.2). The Vergilian quotation (*Aen.* VI. 365) is also quoted by the H.A. (*Tyr. trig.* 24.3).
- 33 Eutropius underestimates Aurelian's two major campaigns against Zenobia in A.D. 272 and 273 and ignores the destruction of Palmyra. The epitomator is also curiously silent about these events. Unfortunately, because of a *lacuna* in the text we do not have Victor for a comparison but it appears likely that the *Kaisergeschichte* glossed over this whole episode. Cf. *Petr. Patr.* frg. 10.5; H.A. *Aur.* 26.6-28.3; 31.1; Zos. I. 55-56, 60, 61.1.
- 34 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 35.5; H.A. *Aur.* 33-34; 39.1; *Tyr. trig.* 25.4;

- 30.27. The anachronistic title *corrector Lucaniae*, which owes its origin to Diocletian, was long ago noted as an invention of the *Kaisergeschichte* by W.H. Fisher (*J.R.S.* 19, 1929, 132). On Aurelian's triumph *vid.* E.W. Merten, *Antiquitas* IV, 5, 1968, 129-140.
- 35 This rebellion is misplaced chronologically by Eutropius and Victor (*De Caes.* 35.6), but not by his epitomator (*Epit.* 35.4). It appears in a sort of appendix to the Life of Aurelian in the H.A. (*Aur.* 38.2). Apparently while Aurelian was engaged with the Juthungi in A.D. 270/271 serious disturbances broke out at Rome (*Zos.* I. 49; H.A. *Aur.* 18.4; 21.5; 50.5). They may have been instigated by Aurelian's decision to close the mint to prevent thefts and fraudulent emissions. Felicissimus, the *procurator* or *rationalis* of the mint, who would have been held responsible for the debasement of the coinage, chose to rebel and used the mint on the Caelian Hill as a stronghold. In view of the number of combatants killed and nobles subsequently executed (*Ammianus*, 30.8.8) Felicissimus may have been supported by an extensive faction, possibly including the erstwhile supporters of Quintillus.
- 36 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 35.7, 12; Victor, *Epit.* 35.9; H.A. *Aur.* 36.2-3; 37.7; 39.3, 8-9.
- 37 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 35.7; Victor, *Epit.* 35.9; H.A. *Aur.* 1.3; 10.2; 21.9; 25.6; 28.5; 35.3; 39.2; 39.6; 48.4; *Zos.* I. 49, 60. In view of the continued assaults on Italy in A.D. 271 Aurelian began construction of a new city wall twenty-six feet high and twelve feet wide. It was about twelve miles in circuit and possessed gates, posterns and artillery towers (I.A. Richmond, *The City Wall of Imperial Rome*, Oxford, 1930). Being a devotee of the Sun-God he later constructed the Temple of the Sun on the *Campus Agrippae* which he endowed with the spoils of Palmyra (*Zos.* I. 61). In general *vid.* Platner and Ashby, *op. cit.*, 491 ff.
- 38 Cf. H.A. *Aur.* 39.7 where an identical and at times verbatim summary is given. The H.A. either followed Eutropius or both copied the account of the *Kaisergeschichte* (Syme, *Emperors and Biography*, 223). Early in his reign Aurelian realized the futility of trying to retain the devastated remaining sections of Dacia and withdrew its forces and inhabitants south of the Danube, creating two new provinces, Dacia Ripensis and Dacia Mediterranea, between the two Moesias. Their territories were taken from Moesia Superior and

Thrace (H. Vettiers, *Dacia Ripensis*, 1950, 6 ff.). The name Dacia was retained for propaganda purposes.

- 39 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 35.8; Victor, *Epit.* 35.8; H.A. *Aur.* 35.5; 36.1-7; Zos. I. 62.1; Zon. 12.27; Lact. *De Mort. Persec.* 6.2. Zosimus and Zonaras name the person responsible Eros, the H.A. calls him Mnestheus, probably a misreading of the Greek word for *notarius*. Victor's epitomator seems to be copying Eutropius' account verbatim here (as elsewhere) but omits the detail of the *strata vetus* (old road), which Eutropius may have added from autopsy, i.e. both were probably using the *Kaisergeschichte*. On this episode in general *vid.* Syme, *Emperors and Biography*, 237 ff.; 243 (with a curious error in note 3). Aurelian was killed near Perinthus in the autumn of A.D. 275 (Barnes, *op. cit.*, 173, 181).
- 40 M. Claudius Tacitus was in Campania when proclaimed by the soldiers some six to eight weeks after Aurelian's death, i.e. in November or December, A.D. 275. After reigning about six months, during which time he defeated the Goths in Pontus, he was assassinated at Tyana in Cappadocia in June or thereabouts, A.D. 276. (Victor, *De Caes.* 36. 1-2; Victor, *Epit.* 35.10-36.1; H.A. *Tac.* 1.1; 2.1; 2.6; 3.1-2; 13.2; 13.5; 14.5; Zos. I. 63; Zon. 12.28; *Cons. Constant.* a.275; 277; Syme, *loc. cit.*; Barnes, *loc. cit.*; Lafaurie, *op. cit.*, 139-154).
- 41 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 36.2-37.1; Victor, *Epit.* 36.2; H.A. *Tac.* 9.6; 13.6; 14.1; 14.4; 17.4; *Prob.* 10.8; 11.3; Zos. I. 63; I. 64; Zon. 12.28. M. Annianus Florianus was Tacitus' praetorian prefect, not his brother. He was recognized only in the west and was killed at Tarsus probably in early September, A.D. 276 (Syme, *op. cit.* 242; 245-246; Barnes, *op. cit.*, 158; Lafaurie, *loc. cit.*).
- 42 M. Aurelius Probus was born at Sirmium possibly on August 19th, A.D. 232. He was a senior commander in the east under Tacitus and orchestrated his own acclamation probably in June, 276, after Tacitus' death, with the support of Syria, Palestine and Egypt (Victor, *De Caes.* 37.2; Victor, *Epit.* 36.2; H.A. *Prob.* 3.1; 7.4; 10.1; 21.2; Zos. I. 63; I. 64; Zon. 12.29).
- 43 Between A.D. 277 and 279 Probus and his generals drove the Franks out of northern Gaul, the Alamanni out of central Gaul and the Burgundians and Vandals out of Raetia and Illyricum (Victor, *De Caes.* 37.3; H.A. *Prob.* 3.5-6; *Tac.* 3.4; Oros. 7.24.2; Jerome, *Chron.* 223; Zos. I. 67.1; Zon. 12.29).

- 44 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 37.3; Victor, *Epit.* 37.2; H.A. *Prob.* 18.4; *Quad. tyr.* 7.1 ff.; Oros. 7.24.3; Jerome, *Chron.* 224; Zos. I. 66. 1 ff.; Zon. 12.29. Probus successively crushed the rebellions of Julius Saturninus in Syria and Egypt in A.D. 277-278, and of Proculus and Bononus who had themselves acclaimed at Cologne in A.D. 280.
- 45 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 37.3-4; Victor, *Epit.* 37.3-4; H.A. *Prob.* 20.4-21.3; Zos. I. 71.5; Zon. 12.19; Petr. Patr. *Exc. Vat.* 179; Jerome, *Chron.* 280; 283. Domitian had ordered that no new vineyards should be planted in Italy and half of those in the provinces should be cut down (Suet. *Domit.* 7.2) in order to protect Italian viticulture and produce a more adequate grain supply. By Probus' reign the edict had lapsed and Probus encouraged viticulture in Gaul and the Danube region. Indeed, the Fruska Gora range north of Sirmium (Mitrovica) is still a rich wine-producing area. However his use of troops for such work and his severe discipline proved unpopular. His troops rebelled, possibly instigated by Carus' revolt, as the Greek sources state, and killed him at Sirmium probably in September, A.D. 282. He had suppressed a rebellion in Britain, stamped out brigandage in Pamphylia and Lycia and crushed an insurrection in the Thebaid (Zos. I. 66; 69; 71; Zon. 12.29; H.A. *Prob.* 16.4-5; 17.4-6). For the interrelationship of the sources *vid.* Syme, *Emperors and Biography*, 224-225; Barnes, *C.Q.* 20, 1970, 202-203.
- 46 M. Aurelius Carus was Probus' praetorian prefect and military commander in Raetia and Noricum. He was born at Narbo in southern Gaul and consequently was not one of the Danubian officers. He probably rebelled in August, A.D. 282 and upon receiving news of Probus' death in September, he announced to the senate his acclamation and the fact that he had made his sons Caesars. Leaving Carinus as governor in the west he marched east to confront the Persians and on the way defeated the Sarmatians and Quadi who were plundering Pannonia. In the east he defeated the Persians under Vahram II, recaptured Mesopotamia and subsequently took Coche (Veh Ardashir), which Artaxerxes (Ardashir) had built c. A.D. 230-240 to replace Seleucia which had been destroyed in A.D. 165. It stood over the west bank of the Tigris across from Ctesiphon (Matthews, *op. cit.*, 140-143). Carus afterwards crossed the Tigris and captured the Persian capital Ctesiphon, but was then, in the summer of A.D. 283, probably the victim of a plot headed by Diocletian (Diocles). Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 38.1-3; Victor, *Epit.* 38.1-

- 2; H.A. *Car.* 5.4 ff.; 7.1-8.7; 9.4; Zon. 12.29-30; *Chronog. A.D.* 354; John of Antioch, *F.H.G.* IV. 600, Frag. 160. On the chronology and his death *vid.* H.W. Bird, *Latomus* 35, 1976, 123-127. The H.A. is extremely unreliable at this point (Syme, *Emperors and Biography*, 26.50, 218-219; Barnes, *Phoenix* 26, 1972, 152).
- 47 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 38.6-39.1; Victor, *Epit.* 38.4-5; H.A. *Car.* 12.1; Zon. 12.30-31. M. Aurelius Numerius Numerianus allegedly contracted trachoma on the march back from Ctesiphon to the Danube and was murdered, probably at the beginning of November A.D. 284, some distance south of Chalcedon. His father-in-law, the praetorian prefect L. Flavius Aper, was made the scapegoat, but it is more likely that Diocletian, commander of the imperial bodyguard, was the ringleader of the plot (T.B. Jones, *A.J.P.* 59, 1938, 338-339; Bird, *op. cit.*, 125-130). Two other praetorian prefects, Plautianus and Timesitheus, had had their loyalty confirmed by similar marriage arrangements. Furthermore, Diocletian subsequently erased Numerian's name from monuments, which was hardly the act of someone avenging his murder (W. Seston, *Dioclétien et la Tétrarchie*, Paris, 1946, 48).
- 48 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 39.11-12; Victor, *Epit.* 38.7-8; H.A. *Car.* 16.1 ff.; 18.1-2; Zos. I. 73.3; Zon. 12.30; Petr. Patr. *Ex. de Sent.* 269. 181B; Jord. *Rom.* 295; *Chronog. A.D.* 354, 229. M. Aurelius Carinus, is castigated for his cruelty and debauchery by the sources in general, but this may be subsequent propaganda. He was certainly energetic enough to put down with ease the usurper M. Aurelius (Sabinus) Julianus near Verona in early A.D. 285 (Victor, *De Caes.* 39.9-10; Victor, *Epit.* 38.6; Seston, *op. cit.*, 52; cf. *P.L.R.E.* 474).
- 49 C. Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus, as he was subsequently known, was acclaimed emperor near Nicomedia on November 20th, A.D. 284. For his background and death cf. Victor, *Epit.* 39.1; Zon. 12.31-32; Lact. *De Mort. Persec.* 9.11; 19.5; 52.3; Syme, *Emperors and Biography*, 233; T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, Cambridge, Mass., 1981, 4; S. Williams, *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery*, London, 1985, 24-38, 237-238. Anullinus was consul in A.D. 295, urban prefect in 306/7 and 312 (P.I.R.² A 632).
- 50 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 39.13; H.A. *Car.* 13.2; Zon. 12.31. Again all three authors depend upon the *Kaisergeschichte*, despite Dufraigne's doubts (*op. cit.*, 182); cf. Bird, *loc. cit.* For a colourful description of the scene *vid.* Williams, *op. cit.*, 36-37.

- 51 In the spring of A.D. 285 Carinus and Diocletian faced each other across the River Margus (Morava) in Moesia, near the modern Belgrade. Carinus' army was larger but some of its officers were disaffected and, though it fought hard and gained the initial advantage, Carinus was assassinated by one of his own men, leaving Diocletian victorious (Victor, *De Caes.* 39.11; Victor, *Epit.* 38.7; H.A. *Car.* 18.2; Zos. I. 73.3; John of Antioch, frag. 163).
- 52 M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus, a younger fellow officer and loyal friend of Diocletian who came from near Sirmium, was elevated to Caesar probably on July 21st, A.D. 285 at Milan (T.D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine*, Cambridge, Mass., 1982, 4). Clearly Diocletian realized that the empire could not be safely managed by one ruler and he chose Maximian and later Constantius and Galerius for their loyalty and military expertise. The Gallic peasantry of north and east Gaul, impoverished through German depredations and government exactions, seized the opportunity presented by Carinus' departure to rebel. Bagaudae is probably a Celtic word denoting vagabonds. Their two leaders, Aelianus and Amandus, denoted on coins as emperors, were possibly former soldiers, the rank and file were not. After establishing their headquarters on a peninsula of the Marne, just upstream from its confluence with the Seine, they raided the neighbouring districts and even attacked large cities. Maximian had suppressed these rustic bands by the spring of A.D. 286 but failed to destroy the movement since under similar conditions further outbreaks occurred in A.D. 369, 406 and prior to 439 (Victor, *De Caes.* 39.17; Oros. 7.25.2; Zon. 12.31; Ammianus, 28.2.10; Zos. VI. 2.5; *Chron. Min.* I. 475-476; A.D. Dmitrev, "Dvizhenie Bagaudov," *Vest. Drev. Ist.* III-IV, 1940, 101-114).
- 53 M. Aurelius Carausius, a native of Menapia, was commissioned by Maximian in A.D. 285 or early 286 to protect the coasts of Gaul and Britain from Saxon and Frankish pirates. He was remarkably successful but allegedly kept the spoils he recaptured to increase his fleet. Maximian ordered his execution and in self-protection he rebelled in late 286, moved his fleet to Britain, but still controlled Boulogne and, with the help of the Franks, much of N.W. Gaul. Constantius finally dislodged him from Gaul and Boulogne by spring, 293 and he was murdered by his finance minister (or praetorian prefect) Allectus, who replaced him (Victor, *De Caes.* 39.20-21, 39-

- 42; Oros. 7.25.3-5; Williams, *op. cit.*, 46 ff., 71-74; Barnes, *New Empire*, 10-11). Elsewhere Barnes has argued persuasively that these passages in Eutropius and Victor demonstrate independent use of the *Kaisergeschichte* (*The Sources of the Historia Augustus*, Brussels, 1978, 93).
- 54 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 39.22-23; Victor, *Epit.* 39.3; Festus, 25; Oros. 7.25.4,8. All draw their information ultimately from the *Kaisergeschichte*. On Achilleus *vid.* Barnes, *New Empire*, 12. The Quinquegentiani were a confederacy of Berber tribes who broke through the Numidian and Mauretanian frontiers in the 280s. In A.D. 289 they were driven back but resumed their attacks soon afterwards. In 297 Maximian, with a large and diverse army, pushed them into their mountain retreats, devastated their territory and killed substantial numbers of them, before forcing the survivors into the Sahara. On March 10th, 298 he was able to march triumphantly into Carthage (Williams, *op. cit.*, 75).
- 55 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 39.24-25; Victor, *Epit.* 39.2. Eutropius, Victor and his epitomator all independently follow the *Kaisergeschichte*, but only Eutropius and the epitomator mistakenly report that Maximian was made Augustus when Constantius and Galerius were made Caesars (March 1st, A.D. 293). Maximian was raised to Augustus probably on April 1st, 286 (Barnes, *New Empire*, 4). On their titles Jovius and Herculus, which designated Diocletian's primacy and emphasized their divine authority, *vid.* Williams, *op. cit.*, 58-60; Seston, *op. cit.*, 210-230; Jones, *L.R.E.* I. 38; Barnes, *Constantine*, 11. For the families of the tetrarchs *vid.* Barnes (*Constantine*, 8-9; *New Empire*, 30-38), who does not accept the tradition that the two Caesars divorced their wives to marry into the imperial families in A.D. 293, since this derives from the *Kaisergeschichte* which plainly confused the chronology of the tetrarchy.
- 56 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 39.39-42; Oros. 7.25.5-6; *Pan. Lat.* 8(5). 12.2, 14-19. Allectus was defeated and killed near Farnham, S.W. of London, by Asclepiodotus, Constantius' praetorian prefect, in A.D. 296 (Barnes, *New Empire*, 11; *Constantine*, 15-16; Williams, *op. cit.*, 74).
- 57 Probably in A.D. 298 Constantius was attacked by the Alamanni near Langres some forty miles from the frontier. He was wounded during the fighting but saved by the town's fortifications. Wounded in the subsequent fighting he drove the Germans back to the Rhine (*Pan.*

- Lat.* 6.4.2, 6.3; Williams, *op. cit.*, 94).
- 58 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 39.38; Victor, *Epit.* 39.3; Oros. 7.25.4, 8. L. Domitius Domitianus rebelled at Alexandria probably in August, A.D. 297, but seems to have died in December. His successor, Aurelius Achilleus, took the title *corrector* and held out against Diocletian until c. March, 298. The emperor's reprisals were savage. Coptos and Busiris were destroyed and Egypt was divided into two provinces, Egypt and Thebais. The new tax laws and census were put in place and the administration reformed. The taxes and administration still existed in Eutropius' day (Barnes, *New Empire*, 11-12, 211; *Constantine*, 17-18; Williams, *op. cit.*, 81-83).
- 59 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 39.33-37; Festus, 25; Lact. *De Mort. Persec.* 9.5; Oros. 7.25.9; Jord. *Rom.* 301; Zon. 12.31. Verbal similarities coupled with distinct differences in detail between Eutropius and Festus seem to indicate that both writers as well as Victor were following the *Kaisergeschichte* independently here. In A.D. 293 Narses, son of Sapor, became king of Persia and made an unsuccessful sortie against the Romans. In 296, however, he invaded Armenia, recaptured the areas of Mesopotamia which Vahram had ceded to Rome in 287 and invaded Syria. In the spring of 297 Galerius and his Armenian allies were defeated near Callinicum south of Carrhae. On his return to Antioch, so Eutropius, Ammianus (14.11.10), Festus, Orosius and Jerome inform us, but not Lactantius, Galerius was publicly humiliated by Diocletian. This may have been a later invention or exaggeration: cf. Eadie, *op. cit.*, 146-148; Barnes, *Constantine*, 17; *id. Phoenix* 30, 1976, 182-186; Williams, *op. cit.*, 80.
- 60 Galerius gathered a new army of Danubian troops and Gothic and Sarmatian mercenaries during the remainder of A.D. 297. The following year he avoided the Mesopotamian plains, which aided the Persian cavalry, and marched into Armenia. Narses followed and was utterly defeated. Galerius then proceeded to overrun Media and Adiabene and eventually to capture Ctesiphon. Peace was made in 299 and lasted nearly forty years. Roman territory was regained and enlarged, parts of Armenia were annexed and Nisibis became a Roman city. (Eadie, *loc. cit.*; Barnes, *Constantine*, 18; Williams, *op. cit.*, 84-86).
- 61 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 39.43; Oros. 8.25.12; *Pan. Lat.* 8.(5).5.1; Jord. *Rom.* 299; *Get.* 16.91; *Chron. Min.* I. 230, 295; cf. Ammianus,

- 28.1.5; Lact. *De Mort. Persec.* 13.2; 18.6. In A.D. 294 Diocletian defeated the Sarmatians and, in the next two years, the Carpi and Bastarnae. Many of these people were settled in the new Pannonian province of Valeria and in Thrace (Williams, *op. cit.*, 76-77; P. Brennan, *Chiron* 10, 1980, 562 ff.).
- 62 Victor (*De Caes.* 39.1 ff.; 39.8; 39.26) describes Diocletian as intelligent, sensible, experienced in rural and military hardships, but lacking civilized qualities and overstepping accepted customs. Lactantius, as one should expect from a Christian writer, traduces him as a contriver of crimes and a planner of mischief (*De Mort. Persec.* 7.1). The H.A. (*Car.* 13.1) says he was shrewd, loved the state and his relatives or friends, was steadfast, able to make profound though occasionally risky plans, and restrain his impulsiveness by prudence and extreme firmness.
- 63 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 39.2-4; H.A. *Elag.* 23.4; *Car.* 17.1; Ammianus, 15.5.18. The elaborately staged meeting of Diocletian and Maximian at Milan in late December, A.D. 290 or January, 291 (*Pan. Lat.* 11 (3).10-12) gave the rite of *adoratio*, with all its ceremonial splendour, its definitive and official character, even though it had been attested before for such emperors as Caligula, Domitian, Commodus, Caracalla and Gallienus. For a description of the meeting *vid.* Williams, *op. cit.*, 56-60.
- 64 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 39.17, 26-28, 46; Victor, *Epit.* 40.10; Lact. *De Mort. Persec.* 8.1-2; H.A. *Elag.* 35.4; *Pan. Lat.* 10 (2). There is no reason to doubt his cruelty, severity and rudeness, or his loyalty to Diocletian, but Lactantius' other charges may be dismissed (Williams, *op. cit.*, 44-45). It is likely that Maximian was extremely harsh in punishing those who broke the laws concerning maximum prices or contravened the edicts against the Christians.
- 65 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 39.48; Victor, *Epit.* 39.5; 40.1; Lact. *De Mort. Persec.* 10.1; 17.1 ff.; 18.1 ff.; Oros. 7.25.14; Zos. II. 10.5; Zon. 12.32. After holding magnificent joint triumphal celebrations at Rome, beginning on November 20th, A.D. 303, to honour Diocletian and Maximian's *Vicennalia*, the senior emperor, then about sixty years old (Barnes, *New Empire*, 30-31) set off on a winter journey to Nicomedia and became seriously ill *en route*. He reached his capital in late summer, 304 but his illness continued and worsened and he almost died, but he made a surprising partial recovery by the 1st of March, 305. Galerius' visit that month hastened the inevitable.

A decision was made to implement the pre-arranged retirement of Diocletian and Maximian and the elevation of Galerius and Constantius as Augusti. But the sons of Maximian and Constantius, namely Maxentius and Constantine, were passed over in favour of Galerius' chosen candidates, Maximin Daia and Severus as Caesars. On May 1st, 305 Diocletian and (with ill grace) Maximian retired simultaneously at Nicomedia and Milan, the former to Split, the latter to Lucania or Campania (cf. Barnes, *Constantine*, 25-26; Williams, *op. cit.*, 186-194). Both Eutropius and Victor, each following the *Kaisergeschichte*, were greatly impressed by Diocletian's voluntary retirement and, given the limited extent of their works, accorded it disproportionate space. Cf. Lact. *De Mort. Persec.* 19.5-6.

Book Ten

- 1 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 40.1; Victor, *Epit.* 40.1; Oros. 7.25.15; Zos. II. 8.1; *Anon. Val.* 3.5. M. Flavius Valerius Constantius was assigned Gaul, Britain and Spain, while C. Galerius Valerius Maximianus received the Danubian provinces and Asia Minor. Of the two new Caesars, Flavius Valerius Severus was to rule Italy, Africa and possibly Pannonia, C. Galerius Valerius Maximinus (Daia) received the diocese of Oriens (Barnes, *New Empire*, 197; cf. *id. Constantine*, 26; Williams, *op. cit.*, 192). Eutropius states that Constantius gave up Italy and Africa but these provinces had already been assigned to his Caesar, Severus, by the arrangements made by Diocletian and Galerius. Possibly Eutropius misinterpreted his source (cf. Victor and his epitomator) and considered that the empire was essentially divided into two parts, as it was when he was writing, not four.
- 2 Constantius was as lenient to the Christians as he could be under the circumstances and ruled Britain and Gaul with restraint. Furthermore, he was the father of Constantine, a very capable propagandist, with the result that his admittedly good reputation tended to be exaggerated by subsequent generations, just as those of e.g. Galerius and Licinius were vilified. Cf. Lact. *De Mort. Persec.* 8.7; Liban, *Laud. Const.* 14; Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 1.13 ff.; *Pan. Lat.* 8(5), 9(4). For a brief assessment *vid.* R. MacMullen, *Constantine*, New York, 1969, 37-38.
- 3 Constantius, together with Constantine, defeated the Picts beyond Hadrian's Wall in A.D. 305. He died at York on July 25th, 306 at

the age of about fifty-six, after ruling from March 1st, 293, i.e. thirteen years, four months and twenty-five days. On his career, death and the sources *vid. Barnes, New Empire*, 4, 35-37.

- 4 This is mainly a repetition of what Eutropius had written at the beginning of the book. It seems that Eutropius believed that Galerius was responsible for appointing the new Caesars and assigning them their provinces, which may be essentially correct, although supposedly Diocletian, under the influence of Galerius, made the decision at Nicomedia together with Galerius. For a very different portrait of Galerius cf. Lact. *De Mort. Persec.* 9.1 ff.
- 5 Constantine (Flavius Valerius Constantinus), Constantius' son by his first wife Helena, a woman of humble origin, was proclaimed Augustus by his father's troops at York on July 25th, A.D. 306. He later accepted an appointment as Caesar by Galerius but was again made Augustus by Maximian c. September, 307. Galerius seems not to have recognized him as an emperor between that date and November, 308 (Barnes, *New Empire*, 5-6, 35-36, 39-43).
- 6 M. Aurelius Valerius Maxentius, son of Maximian, was passed over like Constantine in the settlement at Nicomedia in A.D. 305. He was residing near Rome when he learned of Constantine's elevation and had himself proclaimed emperor on October 28th, 306 by the disaffected senate and praetorians. He was recognized as emperor in Italy, Sicily, Africa (except in 308-309), Sardinia and Corsica (Barnes, *New Empire*, 12-13; William, *op. cit.*, 195).
- 7 Maxentius induced his not unwilling father to resume his former position probably in November, A.D. 306 (Barnes, *loc. cit.*; Williams, *loc. cit.*). According to Lactantius, a contemporary, it was Galerius who asked Diocletian, probably in late 307, to attend the Conference of Carnuntum on November 11th, 308, at which Maximian was again forced into retirement (*De Mort. Persec.* 29.2). Victor's epitomator (39.6), however, states that both Maximian and Galerius asked Diocletian to resume power, but he refused and praised the rustic life he was enjoying.
- 8 Probably in early A.D. 307 Severus marched on Rome, only to find his army, which had formerly served under Maximian, disloyal and susceptible to Maxentius' bribes. Severus retreated to Ravenna where Maximian besieged him and he was permitted to surrender and renounce his position to save his life. Thereafter he was taken as a hostage to Rome, and later killed or forced to commit suicide at Tres

Tabernae outside the city, not at Ravenna. He was buried in Gallienus' tomb (Lact. *De Mort. Persec.* 26. 8-10; Anon. *Val.* 4.10; Victor, *Epit.* 40.3; Zos. II. 10.2; *Origo* 9-10; *Chron. Min.* 1.148, 231; Barnes, *Constantine*, 30; Williams, *op. cit.*, 195).

- 9 In A.D. 307 Maximian had proven useful to Maxentius in defeating Severus and then warding off Galerius. He had even gained Constantine's neutrality by promoting him to the rank of Augustus and giving him his daughter Fausta in marriage. But he soon tired of playing second fiddle to his son and in April, 308, wrongly assuming his former soldiers would support him, he assembled the army and tried to depose Maxentius. He was rudely rebuffed and fled to Constantine. At Carnuntum in November of that year he was again outmanoeuvred by Galerius and compelled to abdicate. Constantine was recognized as Caesar (in the west as Augustus) and Valerius Licinianus Licinius was appointed Augustus. He returned to Constantine as a private citizen. In 310, left in charge of Constantine's southern army while the latter fought on the lower Rhine, he proclaimed Constantine dead, assumed the rank of Augustus and seized the imperial funds. But he failed to win over the army, despite large-scale bribery. Fausta informed her husband and Constantine rapidly returned to confront him at Marseilles. The townspeople opened their gates to Constantine, Maximian was captured and hanged himself (Victor, *De Caes.* 40.21-22; Victor, *Epit.* 40.5; Lact. *De Mort. Persec.* 29.3 ff.; *Chron. Min.* 1.231; *Pan. Lat.* 6(7).14 ff.; Barnes, *Constantine*, 32-35; Williams, *op. cit.*, 195-197). Despite Eutropius' charge of faithlessness Maximian had always been loyal to Diocletian, but obviously his loyalty stopped there.
- 10 Licinius was born c. A.D. 265 in Dacia south of the Danube and was, as several sources indicate, an old friend of Galerius. He married Constantine's sister, Constantia, in 313 and their son Licinius was born in c. August, 315. For sources and further details *vid.* Barnes, *New Empire*, 43-44.
- 11 After a long, painful illness, possibly cancer of the bowels and genitalia, Galerius died probably in late April, A.D. 311 at Serdica in Dardania. He was buried at Romulianum on the Danube in Dacia Ripensis (Victor, *De Caes.* 40.9; Victor, *Epit.* 40.16; Lact. *De Mort. Persec.* 33-35; Euseb. *H.E.* 8; *Chron. Min.* 1.148; Anon *Val.* 3.8). Galerius died approximately 2 1/2 years after Licinius was appointed

emperor. The empire was, in fact, ruled by four Augusti, but Maxentius was not recognized by the other three.

- 12 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 40.23; Victor, *Epit.* 40.7; Lact. *De Mort. Persec.* 44.1 ff.; Zos. II. 16.1; Zon. 13.1; Euseb. *H.E.* 9.9.3; *Vit. Const.* 1.3.7; *Pan. Lat.* 12(9).16.1; 4(10).28.1 ff. Maxentius expected an attack by Licinius in A.D. 312 and sent an army to Verona, but it was Constantine who struck first to gain control of Italy before Licinius. In spring he crossed the Alps, seized Segusio and defeated a detachment of Maxentius' army near Turin. Milan and other cities welcomed him, and at Brescia he destroyed another of Maxentius' detachments. At Verona, however, Constantine was encircled while besieging the city. In a desperate battle he finally won the day, the city surrendered and Constantine marched on Rome, having won control of northern Italy. The city was in turmoil because of Maxentius' exactions and openly hostile to him. Consequently he was forced to abandon the tactics which had defeated Severus and Galerius and meet Constantine in open battle across the Tiber near the Milvian Bridge, which he had destroyed. On October 28th, 312, he crossed the Tiber on a temporary bridge and was decisively defeated. His troops fled in disarray and broke the makeshift bridge and Maxentius was forced to attempt to cross the river in full armour. He drowned in doing so and Constantine became master of Rome (Barnes, *Constantine*, 41-43).
- 13 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 41.1. In early A.D. 313 Maximin Daia attacked Byzantium and took it after a brief siege, then captured Heraclea. Just beyond the city he met Licinius' smaller army and was surprisingly defeated. He then retreated through Asia Minor, failed to hold the passes through the Taurus mountains, and was forced back to Tarsus in Cilicia, which Licinius besieged. In despair he committed suicide, probably in July (Barnes, *Constantine*, 62-63; *New Empire*, 7).
- 14 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 40.2; 41.2, 15; Zos. II. 8.2-3. Both emphasize Constantine's ambitions. He wished to rule the empire alone and have his son, later his sons, succeed him.
- 15 On October 8th, A.D. 316 Constantine attacked Licinius near Cibalea in Pannonia Secunda and, though possessing a much smaller army, won a convincing victory. Licinius retreated to Sirmium, then to Serdica. Licinius made his general, Valens, emperor and the latter gathered a large army at Adrianople. Constantine, then at

Philippopolis, refused Licinius' overtures and again defeated Licinius near Adrianople. But as he advanced to Byzantium Valens and Licinius cut his army off and Constantine was compelled to negotiate. Valens was removed and later executed and Constantine acquired all of Licinius' European possessions except for Thrace, Moesia and Scythia Minor. On March 1st, 317 at Serdica an agreement was reached whereby Constantine's sons, Crispus and Constantine II and Licinius' son, Licinius II, were appointed Caesars. Licinius thereafter ruled from Nicomedia. It was an uneasy peace with Licinius becoming increasingly more intolerant of his Christian subjects who favoured Constantine and by 321 there was open hostility between the emperors. In 323 an invasion of Thrace and Moesia by the Sarmatians allowed Constantine to drive them across the Danube and march through parts of Licinius' territory. A decisive battle near Adrianople took place on the 3rd and 4th of July, 324 and ended with Licinius' army surrendering. In the meantime Crispus had defeated Licinius' fleet under Abantus in the Hellespont. Constantine then crossed the straits north of Chalcedon and on September 18th at Chrysopolis near Chalcedon he again defeated Licinius. The latter fled to Nicomedia where he surrendered the next day on condition he be allowed to live as a private citizen. Constantine swore an oath that his life would be spared and sent him to Thessalonica, but had him executed the following spring (Barnes, *Constantine*, 67-77; *New Empire*, 44-45).

- 16 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 41.10-11; Victor, *Epit.* 41.11-12; Oros. 7.28; Zos. II. 29.1-2; Zon. 13.2; *Chron. Min.* 1.232; Ammianus. 14.11.20. The three Caesars were Crispus, Constantine II and Constantius II, but since the latter two were only eight and seven years old in late A.D. 324 (Barnes, *New Empire*, 44-45) they could not have been governing provinces for some time, though Constantine may have wished to accustom them early to their responsibilities (Euseb. *Laud. Const.* 3.1; Lib. *Or.* 59.39). Crispus was executed at Pola in Istria in May or June, 326, possibly for sexual offenses which may have been engineered by his step-mother, Fausta, for dynastic reasons. Fausta herself was forced to commit suicide soon afterwards in July, apparently after Helena, Constantine's mother, had caused him to suspect his wife's machinations. Constantine's sister's son was Licinius junior, who was probably executed with his father in the previous year. (P. Guthrie, *Phoenix* 20, 1966, 325 ff.; Barnes,

Constantine, 220).

- 17 Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* 4.75, 1.7f.) considered Constantine superior to all rulers in recorded history. Eutropius, however, gives a more balanced account of Constantine, which was probably the result of numerous discussions about the emperor. He personally considered it a positive quality that Constantine enriched and promoted his friends. On the other hand some writers criticized him for this, viewing many of his favourites as unworthy individuals (Victor, *De Caes.* 41.20; Ammianus, 16.8.12; 21.10.8; Zos. II. 38.1). For a recent survey *vid.* Barnes, *Constantine*, 272-275. Constantine defeated the Goths in A.D. 332 and forced them to accept Roman suzerainty. Two years later he overcame the Sarmatians, some of whom he settled in the Danubian provinces and Italy, others were made to serve in the Roman army (Barnes, *Constantine*, 250). For the Goths respect for Constantine *vid.* Ammianus, 26.10.3; 27.5.1.
- 18 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 41.17. On November 8th, A.D. 324 Constantine had the perimeter of his "New Rome" at Byzantium marked out. It soon became known as Constantinople. Constantine officially dedicated the city on May 11th, 330, the festival of St. Mocius (Barnes, *Constantine*, 212, 222). Eutropius, a cautious pagan who followed current pagan historiographical tradition, completely ignores the fact that Constantine was a Christian and responsible for Christianity becoming the official religion of the empire. Indeed, he only mentions Christians once, *en passant* (10.16). Victor, his contemporary, is similarly reticent and merely alludes to Constantine's religious reforms without actually citing Christianity (*De Caes.* 41.12).
- 19 Sapor II attacked Mesopotamia in A.D. 335 and probably the following year invaded Armenia and installed a Persian nominee on the throne. Constantine declared his nephew, Hannibalianus, 'King of Kings' and sent him to Caesarea in Cappadocia, and had Constantius Caesar fortify Amida on the Tigris in Upper Mesopotamia. In 337 he was preparing to campaign in person against the Persians when he died on May 22nd outside Nicomedia. Cf. Barnes, *Constantine*, 254; *J.R.S.* 75, 1985, 126-136, J. Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, 135-136; 498-499). Eutropius is fairly accurate regarding Constantine's age (Barnes, *New Empire*, 39-40). Victor (*De Caes.* 41.16) clearly followed the same source as Eutropius since he also mentions the comet and the Persian

expedition but gives a more exact location for Constantine's death, Anchryrona, and slightly different figures for Constantine's age and length of rule.

- 20 Flavius Julius Dalmatius, son of Constantine's brother Flavius Dalmatius, was appointed Caesar on September 18th, A.D. 335 and was killed in August or early September, 337. His father, his brother Hannibalianus and other relatives and supporters were also killed in what appears to have been a prearranged massacre just before the three sons of Constantine pronounced themselves Augusti on September 9th (Victor, *De Caes.* 41.15, 18; Victor, *Epit.* 41.15; Ammianus, 21.16.8; Zos. II. 39-40; Julian, *Ep. ad Ath.* 270 CD; 281B; Barnes, *Constantine*, 261-262; *New Empire*, 8,45). Barnes observes that Constantius had most to gain from the murders but considers that "Eutropius has the plausible diagnosis" (*Constantine* 398). It is reasonably certain that Eutropius had discussed these events with colleagues.
- 21 Constantine II, dissatisfied with his allotted portion of the empire, claimed Italy and Africa. Early in A.D. 340 he invaded Constans' territory, marched along the Po valley to cut off Constans from Rome (the latter was at Naissus), but was ambushed and killed by Constans' advance guard near Aquileia. Constans thus acquired Britain, Spain and Gaul (Victor, *De Caes.* 41.22; Victor, *Epit.* 41.21; Zos. II. 41, 55.9; Jerome, *Chron.* 317; Julian, *Or.* 2.121; Socr. 2.5; Zon. 13.5.5-14).
- 22 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 41.23-24; Victor, *Epit.* 41.22-24; Liban. *Or.* 14.10; Zos. II. 42.1, 47.3; Zon. 13.5.15, 6.7-9. In A.D. 341 and 342 Constans defeated the Franks on the Rhine and in the winter of 342/343 he fought the Sarmatians on the Danube. He also dealt with affairs in Britain and gave the Alamanni reason to respect him. His homosexual tendencies, however, which conflicted with Christian morality, his fiscal inability, which produced additional tax burdens, and his obvious favouritism in making appointments resulted in mounting unpopularity. This culminated on January 18th, 350 at Autun when a senior officer, a person of Frankish origin, Flavius Magnus Magnentius, allowed himself to be proclaimed emperor by a group of conspirators. Constans fled to Spain but was overtaken at Helena on the Gallic side of the Pyrenees and murdered. He had ruled as Caesar or Augustus since December 25th, 333 and was born in either 320 or 323 (Barnes, *New Empire.*, 8, 45). Here and

subsequently there are indications that both Eutropius and Victor continued to use the same source, the *Kaisergeschichte*, which terminated in 357 (H.W. Bird, *C.Q.*, n.s. 23, 1973, 375 ff.), but Barnes has argued that it ended with the death of Constantine in 337 (*The Sources of the Historia Augusta*, 94).

- 23 According to Festus (27) nine major battles were fought against the Persians in Constantius' reign. In A.D. 343 at Singara in central Mesopotamia Constantius appears to have defeated the Persians. The two adversaries met again at Singara in 348 in a night battle and both sustained heavy losses. In 359 Constantius lost Reman, Busan and Amida, and the following year Singara and Bezabde. Nisibis was besieged three times between 337 and 350 and Virta was also unsuccessfully invested. Eutropius is therefore correct in his assessment of Constantius' continuous inability to defend Mesopotamia against the Persians, cf. Ammianus, 20.2.5. For details, sources and discussion cf. Barnes, *Phoenix* 34, 1980, 163-164; Eadie, *op. cit.*, 149-151; Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, 3, 39-66; R.C. Blockley, *Phoenix* 42, 1988, 244-260.
- 24 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 41.26-42.2; Victor, *Epit.* 41.25; Oros. 7.29; Zos. II. 42. ff.; Philostorg. *H.E.* III. 22; *Chron. Min.* I. 237, 250; Julian, *Or.* I. 38, 98; III. 22.76; Socrat. II. 28; Zon. 13.7; Petr. Patr. frag. 16 in *F.H.G.* IV. 190. On March 1st, A.D. 350 Vetranio, the master of infantry who commanded the troops on the middle Danube, was acclaimed emperor at Mursa (Osijek) in Pannonia Inferior. Constantina, Constantius' sister, informed him of the occurrence and apparently played a major role in the ensuing negotiations. Constantius temporarily recognized Vetranio, whose coins bore Constantius' image. Magnentius also sought an arrangement with Vetranio but failed and, in view of subsequent events, Vetranio seems to have engineered his acclamation to preserve the Danubian provinces for Constantius. Vetranio and Constantius met at Serdica and travelled together to Naissus where, on December 25th, 350, at a general assembly of the troops, Constantius made an eloquent appeal to them for which they appear to have been prepared beforehand (Ammianus, 21.8.1). Vetranio laid down his imperial insignia and was granted an honourable retirement at Prusa in Bithynia. This is another instance in which Eutropius, Victor and his epitomator appear to be following their common source.
- 25 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 42.6-8; Victor, *Epit.* 42.3; Oros. 7.29.11; Julian,

Or. II. 58c; *Zos.* II. 43.2-4; *Ammianus*, 28.1.1. Flavius Popilius Nepotianus, son of Eutropia, Constantine the Great's half-sister, gathered a motley band of gladiators and citizens at Rome on June 3rd, A.D. 350, and had himself proclaimed emperor. He ruled in a lawless fashion for twenty-eight days before being suppressed and killed by Magnentius' master of offices (*magister officiorum*), Marcellinus. Again Eutropius, Victor and his epitomator show a verbal and factual similarity which seems to indicate continued use of the *Kaisergeschichte*.

- 26 The bloody battle of Mursa on the Drava River in Pannonia Inferior occurred on September 24th, A.D. 351. The disastrous loss of life resulting from it weakened the Roman army for years (Victor, *De Caes.* 42.9-10; Victor, *Epit.* 42.4; *Zos.* II. 46.2-58.1; *Zon.* 13.8.5-13; *Cons. Constantinop.* A.D. 351, 1). Constantius emerged victorious and by the judicious offer of an amnesty caused many of Magnentius' troops to desert (Julian, *Or.* I. 47, 60, 73; *Zon.* 13.8.23). Magnentius' offer of a negotiated settlement was refused and during 352 he was compelled to retreat into Gaul where he maintained himself until the summer of 353. By that time Constantius had forced his way through the Cottian Alps and defeated Magnentius' army at Mons Seleuci. Magnentius committed suicide (to avoid being surrendered by his troops) at Lyons in late July or August, having ruled from January 18th, 350. His brother Decentius, who had been appointed Caesar in July or August 350, presumably committed suicide soon after learning of Magnentius' death.
- 27 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 42.9,12; Victor, *Epit.* 42.4; *Ammianus*, 14.1.1 ff.; *Oros.* 7.29; *Philostorg.* *H.E.* III. 27, 28; IV.8; *Zos.* II. 45 ff. On March 15th, A.D. 351 at Sirmium Constantius appointed his nephew Flavius Claudius Constantius, known as Gallus, to the rank of Caesar. He married Gallus to his sister, Constantia, and sent him to Antioch to govern the East. Gallus ruled for nearly four years and had to suppress a conspiracy, conduct treason trials which he mismanaged, and chastise the upper classes at Antioch for creating a grain shortage. Constantius received inflammatory reports on his conduct, summoned him to Pola late in 354, and had him executed. The Latin sources emphasize Gallus' cruelty; the Greek sources are more favourably disposed to him. For recent views and bibliography *vid.* J. Matthews, *The Roman World of Ammianus*, 33-36, 483-484.
- 28 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 42.14-16; Victor *Epit.* 42.10-11; *Oros.* 7.29;

Ammianus, 15.4.1-31; Jerome, *Chron.* 321. In the late summer of A.D. 355 Constantius' master of infantry at Cologne, Silvanus, was compelled by palace intrigue at Milan to declare himself emperor. Ursicinus, master of soldiers in the east and himself an object of suspicion to Constantius, was despatched to Cologne to deal with the usurpation. Constantius probably thought that at least one of his dangerous subordinates would thereby be eliminated. Ursicinus succeeded by suborning Silvanus' auxiliary regiments, the Cornuti and Bracchiati, in having Silvanus killed twenty-eight days after his acclamation. For recent discussions of the episode *vid.* Matthews, *op. cit.*, 37-38, 484-485.

- 29 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 42.13, who also stresses the fact that at this point the state returned to the rule of one emperor, though Victor places the event more correctly before the usurpation of Silvanus. I am convinced that this statement was in the *Kaisergeschichte* (cf. Enmann, *op. cit.* 450). Subsequently Zosimus, too (II. 55.1), notes that after the death of Magnentius the supreme power reverted to one emperor.
- 30 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 42.17-18; Victor, *Epit.* 42.12. Flavius Claudius Julianus (b. A.D. 331) was the son of Constantine the Great's half-brother, Julius Constantius. After Silvanus' death Julian, who was studying at Athens, was summoned by Constantius to Milan and invested as Caesar on November 6th, 355. A few days later he married Constantius' sister, Helena, and on December 1st set out for Gaul which the Alamanni and Franks had invaded and ravaged. Julian's function was essentially to be a figurehead representing the emperor while the latter's generals carried on the war with the Germans. Thus the following year Julian served in a subordinate role and gained military experience fighting in east central Gaul. In 357, however, he had remarkable success. Though he probably owed much to the abilities of his commanders he was able to claim credit for recapturing Cologne from the Franks and, later that summer, for decisively defeating a large army of the Alamannic confederacy (35,000 strong) under Chnodomarius at Strasbourg with only 13,000 troops. The king himself was captured. In 358 he overcame the Salian Franks and the Chamavi on the lower Rhine, thus restoring the frontier, and in 359 he crossed the Rhine and by a grim show of force, compelled the Alamanni to give up their prisoners and pay reparations. For details, sources and discussion *vid.* R.C. Blockley,

Latomus 31, 1972, 445 ff.; Matthews, *op. cit.*, 91-92, 296-300.

- 31 In the summer of A.D. 359, the Romans had been forced to surrender Reman, Busan and Amida. Consequently, towards the end of that year Constantius sent orders to Julian to dispatch substantial numbers of his best troops to the east. In January or February, 360 those troops which were available were routed through Paris, where Julian was staying. He appeared before the soldiers in person, then invited their commanders to dinner. That night the soldiers thronged around the palace and hailed Julian as Augustus which, as he and Ammianus tell us, he reluctantly accepted (Julian *Ep. ad. Ath.* 282 C ff.; Ammianus, 20.4.11 ff.). Both Julian and Constantius spent the campaigning season of 361 settling affairs in their respective regions and making preparations for the imminent civil conflict. Julian struck first, to seize the all-important Danubian provinces. Probably in late July he made a triple-pronged attack into Illyricum and, using boats to carry his advance guard down the Danube, he seized the strategic city of Sirmium by about the tenth of October. He immediately advanced to Naissus (Nish) where he stopped to await reinforcements, but sent his general Nevitta ahead to seize the Succ Pass (between Sofia and Plovdiv). Meanwhile, in October, Constantius set out from Antioch towards Constantinople. At Tarsus he contracted a fever but pressed on, the fever worsened, and he died on November 3rd, at Mopsucrene in Cilicia, at the age of forty-four after ruling just under thirty-seven years (Matthews, *op. cit.*, 91-105; R. Browning, *The Emperor Julian*, Berkeley, 1976, 69-121; G.W. Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate*, 33-62).
- 32 Cf. Victor, *De Caes.* 42.20, 23-25; Victor, *Epit.* 42.18-20; Ammianus, 21.16.1-19, esp. 3, 5, 7, 10-11, 15-16. If, as I believe, the *Kaisergeschichte* ended in 357, it would have concluded, as did Victor's *De Caesaribus* with a eulogy of Constantius. All four authors mentioned above state, with similar wording, that Constantius was successful in civil conflicts but fared badly in foreign wars, although Victor, writing under Constantius, modifies the statement. It appears that Eutropius had personally benefitted from Constantius' policy of enriching his companions and promoting men who had been assigned difficult jobs and had performed them well. Ammianus also stresses the second point (21.16.3).
- 33 Julian arrived at Antioch on July 18, A.D. 362 and probably was accompanied by Eutropius from Constantinople. Here the emperor

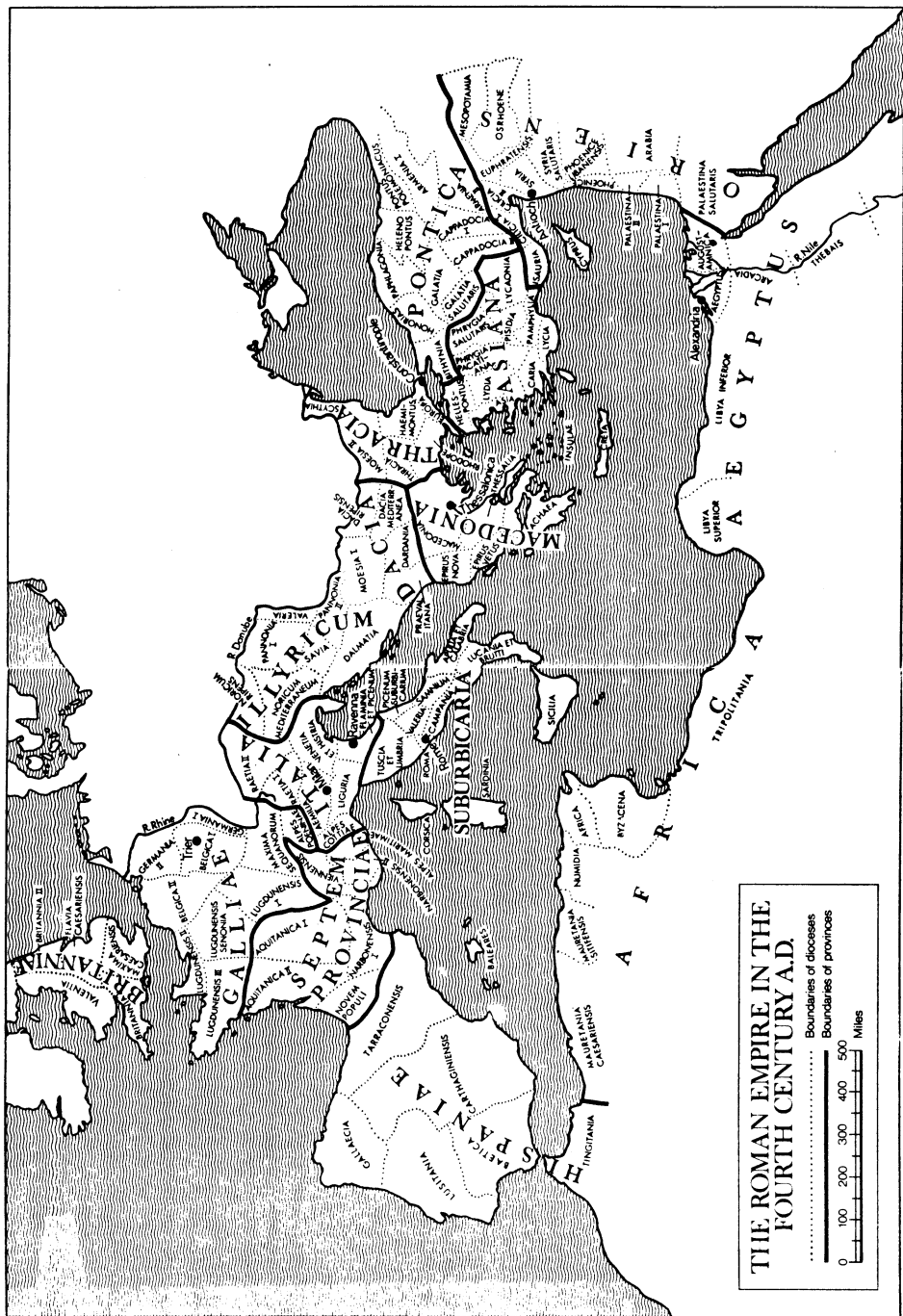
added western troops to the already substantial eastern army and had a fleet of a thousand cargo ships, fifty warships, fifty bridge-building ships and a mass of siege equipment constructed. On March 5th, 363 he left Antioch and a month later crossed the Khabur near its confluence with the Euphrates and entered Persian territory. By the second half of May the Romans, after some stiff fighting, were within striking distance of Ctesiphon and at the end of the month they defeated the army defending the city. Nevertheless King Sapor's main army was closing in and the Roman senior officers persuaded Julian not to get caught between it and the city. Ctesiphon was abandoned, and on July 16th Julian was compelled to retreat, possibly to link up with the covering army in Assyria. On the way back the Romans were continually harassed by contingents of the large Persian army and ran short of supplies. Finally, on June 26th, in one such skirmish on the left flank, Julian was mortally wounded. He died in the eighth year of his reign at the age of thirty-one or thirty-two. For the campaigns *vid.* Browning, *op. cit.*, 187-218; Bowersock, *op. cit.*, 106-119; Matthews, *op. cit.*, 130-179; Eadie, *op. cit.*, 151-152. For Julian's age *vid.* Bowersock, 22.

- 34 For his qualities, with which Eutropius would have been well acquainted, cf. Ammianus, 16.5.6-10; 25.4.1-27. He severely reduced the palace staff and officials, slashed taxation, especially for Gaul, lessened the costs to local authorities of the imperial postal system, restored lands and revenues to various cities and strengthened their city councils. He also abolished clerical immunities and state subsidies to Christian churches, forbade Christians to teach the classics, and encouraged pagans with favours and promotions (Browning, *op. cit.*, 92-93, 159-186; Bowersock, *op. cit.*, 66-93). For his fluency (but not necessarily erudition) in Latin *vid.* Ammianus, 16.5.7; B. Baldwin, *Klio* 60, 1978, 453-455. For his emulation of Marcus Aurelius cf. Julian, *Caesares*, 328 b, 356 c; *Ep. ad Them.* p. 253 a; Ammianus, 16.1.4.
- 35 Flavius Jovianus, who was a young Danubian officer (born c. A.D. 331) from Singidunum (Belgrade), was commanding the 200 strong corps of *domestici et protectores*, carefully chosen officer cadets who served as the imperial bodyguards and were subsequently seconded to equestrian commands (Jones, *L.R.E.* I, 53-54; 129-130). Diocletian had risen from this position to become emperor in 284. When the senior commanders had met on June 28th, 363 and could

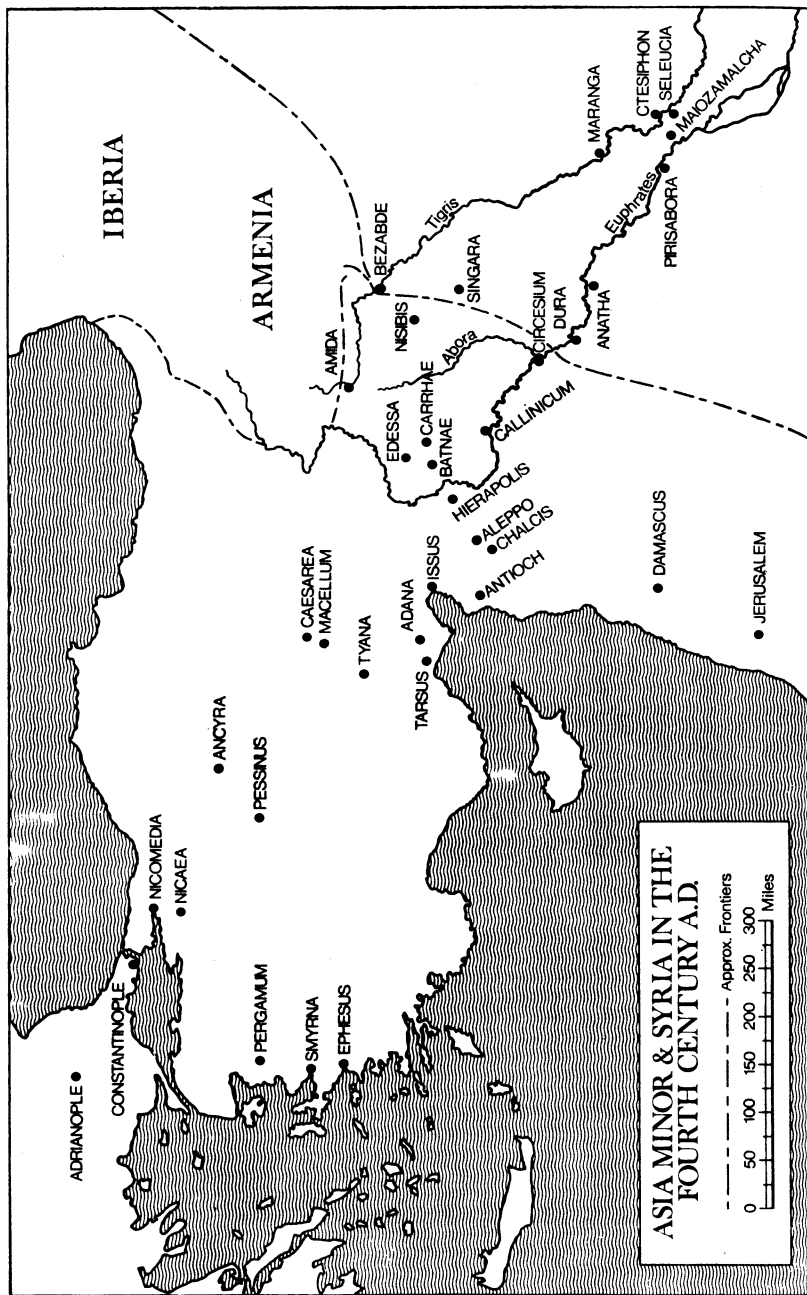
- not agree on a successor it appears that the junior officers made the decision for them. Jovian was the son of a respected, well-known and recently retired general, Varronianus, he had achieved rapid promotion in the corps and had escorted Constantius' remains to Constantinople (Ammianus, 25.5.2 ff.; Matthews, *op. cit.*, 183-187).
- 36 Ammianus is similarly scathing about the peace treaty through which Jovian ceded five provinces, fifteen fortresses and the important cities of Nisibis, Singara and Castra Maurorum (25.7.9 ff.), but the four-day negotiations were difficult and the Romans were in dire straits (Matthews, *loc. cit.*).
- 37 Cf. Ammianus, 25.9.9-11. He adduces these and other examples and may have been influenced by Eutropius. For the three Roman disasters *vid.* Eutrop. 2.9; 4.17; 4.26 and the notes thereto. Eutropius' chronological computation, reckoning inclusively, is accurate. Both Eutropius and Ammianus, however, fail to recognize that the circumstances of Jovian's position were different from those of the republican commanders. In their day the senate was the final arbiter in matters of war and treaties (Matthews, *op. cit.*, 187).
- 38 On Jovian's fear of a usurpation by Procopius, whom Julian had supposedly named as his successor, *vid.* Ammianus, 23.3.2; 25.7.10-11. It proved to be groundless for Procopius dutifully met Jovian south of Nisibis (Ammianus, 25.8.16; Matthews, *loc. cit.*). The following year, however, Procopius rebelled against Valentinian and Valens (Ammianus, 26.5.8; Matthews, *op. cit.*, 191 ff.).
- 39 Jovian died at Dadastana, on the boundary of Bithynia and Galatia, on February 17th, A.D. 364, in the *eighth* month of his reign, at the age of thirty-two. His death was probably due to carbon monoxide poisoning, but various other causes were suggested (cf. Ammianus, 25.10.12-13; Oros. 7.31; Soz. 6.6; Zon. 13.4.D; Chrysostom, *Hom.* 15; Matthews, *op. cit.*, 188). Eutropius makes it clear that there was some dispute over Jovian's age as well as the cause of his death. For his character *vid.* Ammianus, 25.10.14-15. Jovian was buried at Constantinople but Ammianus is silent regarding his deification (Ammianus, 26.1.3). For Eutropius' frequent (17) use of the terms *civilis* and *civilitas*, which I have generally translated as gracious and grace, and for a comparison with their use by Aurelius Victor (2) and the *Historia Augusta* (8) *vid.* G Bonamente, *Giuliano l'Apostata e il Breviario di Eutropio*, Rome, 1986, 168-170.
- 40 Jovian and his small son, Varronianus, commenced their joint

consulship at Ancyra in Galatia on January 1st, A.D. 364 (Ammianus, 25.10.11).

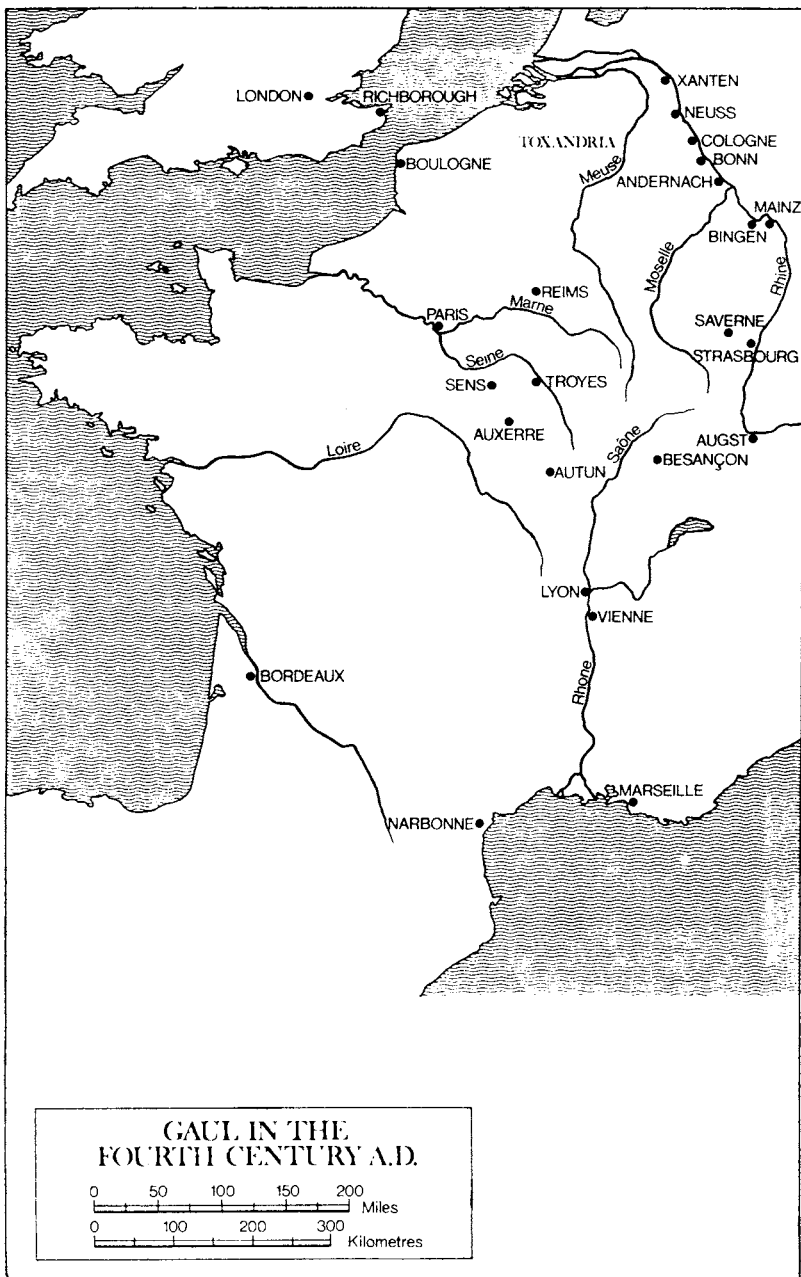
- 41 After Jovian's death the army marched to Nicaea, capital of Bithynia, where the senior military officers and civilian officials chose the commander of the second division of the Scutarii, Flavius Valentinianus, to be emperor. Valentinian was at Ancyra and travelled to Nicaea where he arrived late on the 23rd of February, the eve of the bissextile day, i.e. the inserted additional 24th each leap year, which was considered unlucky. He refused to appear in public until the day had passed, then on the following day, the second 24th, he was presented to the army and formally hailed as Augustus. On March 28th at Hebdomon, a military suburb of Constantinople, he raised his brother, Flavius Valens, to the rank of Augustus (Ammianus, 26.1.3 ff., 4.1-3).
- 42 This is a commonplace conclusion; cf. Ammianus, 31.16.9; H.A. *Car.* 21.2-3. Evgeny Zamyatin, in his essay "I am afraid", makes the intriguing observation that "real literature can be created only by madmen, hermits, heretics, dreamers, rebels and sceptics, not by diligent and trustworthy functionaries." Eutropius plainly belonged to the last category.



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